A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

CONNECTICUT,

FROM ITS

First Settlement under GEORGE FENWICK, Esq.

TO ITS

Latest Period of Amity with GREAT BRITAIN;

INCLUDING

A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY,

And many curious and interesting ANECDOTES.

To which is added,

An APPENDIX, wherein new and the true Sources of the present Rebellion in America are pointed out; together with the particular Part taken by the People of Connecticut in its Promotion.

By a GENTLEMAN of the PROVINCE.

Plus apud me ratio valebit, quam vulgi opinio.
CIC. Parad. I.

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MDCCLXXXI.

a Law has recently been passed by the Legislature of Connecticut, which provides that idle and drunken persons shall be posted publickly, and that all who sell spirits to any person who has been so posted shall be fined seven dollars for each offence, and if sold by a licensed victualler, his license to be void. The trial may be had before any Justice of the Peace, and there is no appeal from his decision.

Englishman Newspaper. 17 Augt. 1823.

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PREFACE.

THOUGH Connecticut be the moſt flouriſhing, and, proportionally, the moſt populous province in North-America, it has hitherto found no writer to introduce it, in its own right, to the notice of the world. Slight and curſory mention in the accounts of other provinces, or of America in general, has yet only been made of it. The hiſtorians of New-England have conſtantly endeavoured to aggrandize Maſſachuſets-Bay as the parent of the other colonies, and as comprehending all that is worthy of attention, in that

country. Thus Governor Hutchinſon ſays, in the preface to his Hiſtory of that Province, "that "there was no importation of plan-"ters from England to any part "of the continent, northward of "Maryland, except to the Maſſa-"chuſets, for more than 50 years "after the colony began;" not knowing, or willing to forget or to conceal, that Saybrook, Newhaven, and Long-Iſland, were ſettled by emigrants *from England* within half that period. Another reaſon for the obſcurity in which the Connecticutenſians have hitherto been involved, is to be found among their own ſiniſter views and pur-

purpoſes. Prudence dictated, that their deficiency in point of right to the ſoil they occupied, their wanton and barbarous perſecutions, illegal practices, daring uſurpations, &c. &c. had better be concealed than expoſed to public view. To diſſipate this cloud of prejudice and knavery, and to bring to light truths long concealed, is the motive of my offering the following ſheets to the world. I am bold to aſſert, that Connecticut merits a fuller account than envy or ignorance has yet ſuffered to be given of it; and that I have followed the line of truth freely, and unbiaſſed by partiality or prejudice.

The Reader, therefore, will not be ſurpriſed, ſhould I have placed the New-Englanders in a different light from that in which they have yet appeared: their characterizers have not been ſufficiently unprejudiced, unawed by power, or unaffected by the deſire of obtaining it, always to ſet them in the true one. Dr. Mather and Mr. Neal were popular writers; but at the time they extolled the prudence and piety of the coloniſts, they ſuppreſſed what are called in New-England *unneceſſary truths*. Governor Hutchinſon, who loved fame, and feared giving offence, publiſhed a few only of thoſe truths; which failed

failed not to procure him a proportionate ſhare of popular diſtruſt and odium. For my own part, I believe my readers will give me credit, for having neither the favour nor fear of man before me in writing this Hiſtory of Connecticut. I diſcard the one; I court not the other. My ſole aim has been to repreſent the country, the people, and their tranſactions, in proper colours.

Too much, however, muſt not be expected from me. I am very ſenſible of many great defects in this performance, wherein very little aſſiſtance was to be obtained from the publications of others.

Mr.

Mr. Chalmers, indeed, who is writing "*Political Annals of the preſent United Colonies*," purſues that taſk with great pains and addreſs. His reſearches have been of ſome uſe to me; but, as to the New-England writers, error, diſguiſe, and miſrepreſentation, too much abound in them to be ſerviceable in this undertaking, though they related more to the ſubject than they do. The good-natured critic, therefore, will excuſe the want of a regular and connected detail of facts and events, which it was impoſſible for me to preſerve, having been deprived of papers of my anceſtors, which would have given my relation

lation that and other advantages. I hope, therefore, for much indulgence, ſtriking, as I have done, into a new and dark path, almoſt wholly without a guide. If I have carried myſelf through it, though with ſome digreſſions, yet without incurring the danger of being accounted a deceiver, my diſordered garb will, I preſume, find an apology in the ruggedneſs of the road, and my ſcripture phraſeology be aſcribed to the uſage of my country.

For three generations my forefathers were careful obſervers of the proceedings of the Connecticut coloniſts;

loniſts; and, if their papers and myſelf ſhould continue in exiſtence till a return of peace ſhall reſtore them to my poſſeſſion, I truſt the Public will not be diſpleaſed with the deſign I have of commiting them to the preſs. In the mean time, leſt that event ſhould never take place, I beg their acceptance of the preſent volume, which, whatever other hiſtorical requiſite it may want, muſt, I think, be allowed to poſſeſs originality and truth, (rare properties in modern publications,) and therefore, I hope, will not be deemed unworthy the public favour.

UNITED STATES.—The public Treasury of Connecticut has been entered by robbers, and plundered of one dollar and 48 cents. The robbers, it is added, left behind them a large crow-bar, iron-wedge, two chisels, two lamps, and a tinder-box; so that the State of Connecticut is supposed to be a gainer by the loss.

In the late fires in the woods, several farms, and a great many cattle have also been burnt, and the heat of the fire was so excessive, that a large number of fish were found dead on the shore, and birds, which were flying in the air, were seen to fall to the ground.

A smart shock of an earthquake was felt in Malone, Franklin County, United States, on the 8th ult.

Oct. 3, 1825.

A GENERAL HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT.

AFTER ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts to form ſettlements in the ſouthern parts of North-America, in which little more had been done than giving the name *Virginia*, in compliment to the Virgin-queen Elizabeth, to the country, a patent was obtained, in 1606, from James I. by Sir Thomas Gates and Aſſociates, of all lands there between the 34th and 45th degrees of North latitude: and, at the patentees own ſolicitation, they were divided into two Companies, commonly denominated the London and Ply-

Plymouth Companies; to the former of which were granted all the lands between the 34th and 41ſt degrees of North latitude, and to the latter all thoſe between the 38th and 45th degrees. A part of the coaſt of the territory laſt mentioned being explored in 1614, and a chart preſented to the then Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I. it received from him the appellation of *New-England.*

In the mean time, however, notwithſtanding the claim of the Engliſh in general to North America, and the particular grant to Sir Thomas Gates and Aſſociates, above-mentioned, the Dutch got footing on Manahattan or New-York Iſland, puſhed up Hudſon's river as high as Albany, and were beginning to ſpread on its banks, when, in 1614, they were compelled by Sir Samuel Argal to acknowledge themſelves ſubjects of the King of England, and ſubmit to the authority of the Governor of Virginia.

For

For the better enabling them to accompliſh their American undertakings, the Plymouth Company, in 1620, obtained a new patent, admitting new members of rank and fortune. By this they were ſtyled "The Council, eſtabliſhed at "Plymouth, for planting and governing "that country called New-England;" and to them were now granted all the lands between the 40th and 48th degrees of N. latitude, and extending Eaſt and Weſt from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea, except ſuch as were then actually poſſeſſed by any chriſtian prince or people. Not long afterwards, the patentees came to the reſolution of making a diviſion of the country among themſelves by lot, which they did in the preſence of James I. The map of New England, &c. publiſhed by Purchas in 1625, which is now become ſcarce, and probably the only memorial extant of the reſult, has the following names on the following portions of the coaſt:

Earl of Arundel Sir Ferdinando Gorges Earl of Carliſle	Between the rivers St. Croix and Penobſcot.
Lord Keeper Sir William Belaſis Sir Robert Manſell	Between Penobſcot and Sagadahoc river.
Earl of Holderneſs Earl of Pembroke Lord Sheffield Sir Henry Spelman Sir William Apſley Captain Love Duke of Buckingham Earl of Warwick Duke of Richmond Mr. Jennings Dr. Sutcliffe	Between Sagadahoc and Charles river.
Lord Gorges Sir Samuel Argal Dr. Bar. Gooch	Between Charles river and Narraganſet.

In the above map, no names appear on the coaſt north of the river St. Croix, i. e. Nova Scotia, which was relinquiſhed by the

the patentees in favour of Sir William Alexander: the coaſt weſt of Narraganſet is not exhibited by Purchas, ſo that it is uncertain whether the diviſion above mentioned extended to that or not. Probably, it was not then ſufficiently explored. However, in 1635, the patentees, from the exigency of their affairs, thinking a ſurrender of their patent to the King, with reſervation of their ſeveral rights in regard to the property of the land, an adviſeable meaſure, a new diviſion of the coaſt was ſtruck out, conſiſting of twelve lots, extending to and comprizing land on the weſt ſide of Hudſon's river, and of courſe the Dutch ſettlements at Manahattan. The following is an account of theſe lots:

" 1. From the river St. Croix to Pemaquid.

2. From Pemaquid to Sagadahoc.

3. The land between the rivers Amaraſcoggin and Kenebec.

4. From Sagadahoc along the ſea-coaſt to Piſcataqua.
5. From Piſcataqua to Naumkeak [or Salem].
6. From Naumkeak, round the ſea-coaſt by Cape Cod, to Narraganſet.
7. From Narraganſet to the half-way bound between that and Connecticut river, and ſo fifty miles up into the country.
8. From the half-way bound to Connecticut river, and ſo fifty miles into the country.
9. From Connecticut river, along the ſea-coaſt, to Hudſon's river, and ſo up thirty miles.
10. From the thirty miles end to croſs up forty miles eaſtward.
11. From the Weſt ſide of Hudſon's river thirty miles up the country towards the fortieth degree, where New-England beginneth.

12. From

12. From the end of the thirty miles up the ſaid river, Northward thirty miles further, and from thence to croſs into the land forty miles."

Hutch. Hiſt. of Maſſ. Bay.

Theſe diviſions were, immediately on the above-mentioned ſurrender, to be confirmed by the King to the proprietors; and propoſed to be erected into ſo many diſtinct provinces, under one general Governor of New-England. It is certain that this plan was not then carried into execution in the whole. Several, if not all, of the lots were formally conveyed to their reſpective owners previous to the reſignation of the patent. How many were confirmed by the King, is not known; there is poſitive evidence but of one—to Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

The eighth and ninth lots nearly form the province of CONNECTICUT, taking its name from the great Indian king who reigned when the Engliſh made their firſt inroads into the country.

But before I give an account of that event, it may be proper to premiſe a few particulars concerning the Dutch, already ſpoken of as having ſeated themſelves on New-York iſland and the banks of Hudſon's river; and alſo concerning the ſettlements formed by the Engliſh in and near the Maſſachuſets-Bay.

The ſame year which eſtabliſhed the Council at Plymouth, eſtabliſhed alſo the Dutch Weſt-India Company, to whom the States of Holland are ſaid to have granted, the year after, all the lands between the Capes Cod and Henlopen. Under their encouragement and ſupport, the Dutch at New-York were induced to look upon the act of Argal with contempt; accordingly they revolted from the allegiance he had impoſed upon them, caſt off the authority of their Engliſh Governor, and proceeded in their coloniſing purſuits under one of their own nation:—in which they ſeem to have employed their wonted induſtry, having, before the year 1637, erected

erected a fort on the ſpot where Hertford now ſtands.

A party of *Browniſts*, who, in 1619, are ſaid to have obtained a grant of land from the Virginia Company, ſet ſail on the 6th of September, in the following year, for Hudſon's river; but making, on the 11th of November, the harbour of Cape Cod, inſtead of the place of their deſtination, and finding themſelves not in a fit condition to put to ſea again at ſuch a late ſeaſon of the year, they ranged along the coaſt till a commodious ſituation preſented itſelf, where they diſembarked, and founded the colony of New Plymouth.

Seven years afterwards, a party of Puritans procured a grant of the lands from Merrimack river to the ſouthernmoſt part of Maſſachuſets-Bay. They made their firſt ſettlement at Naumkeak, by them new named Salem; and a ſecond at Charleſtown. Great numbers of the Puritanic ſect followed their brethren to

New-England; ſo that within a few years were laid the foundations of Boſton and other towns upon the Maſſachuſets coaſt.

Thus far had colonization taken place in the neighbouring country, when, in 1634, the firſt part of Engliſh adventurers arrived in Connecticut from England *, under the conduct of George Fenwick, Eſq; and the Rev. Thomas Peters, and eſtabliſhed themſelves at the mouth of the river Connecticut, where they built a town which they called Saybrook, a church, and a fort.

In 1636 another party proceeded from Boſton under the conduct of Mr. John Haynes and the Rev. Thomas Hooker; and in June ſettled on the Weſt Bank of Connecticut river, where Hertford now ſtands, notwithſtanding the Dutch had found their way thither before them.

* Mather, Neal, Hutchinſon, and other writers of New-England hiſtory, have uniformly deviated from the truth in repreſenting Connecticut as having been firſt ſettled by emigrants from their darling Maſſachuſets-Bay.

A third

A third party of Engliſh ſettlers in Connecticut were headed by Mr. Theophilus Eaton and the Rev. John Davenport, who left England early in 1637, and, contrary to the advice of the people of the Maſſachuſets-Bay, who were very deſirous of their ſettling in that province, fixed themſelves, in July following, on the North ſide of a ſmall bay wherein the river Quinnipiack empties itſelf, forty miles S. W. of Hertford, and there built the town of Newhaven.

Thus, within the ſpace of three years, was Connecticut ſeized upon by three diſtinct Engliſh parties, in three different places, forming a triangle;—by what authority I will now beg leave to enquire.

In favour of the firſt, it is alleged, that they purchaſed part of the lands belonging to the Lords Say and Brook, which lands included the 8th and 9th lots, and had been aſſigned to thoſe Lords by the Earl of Warwick, who, about the year 1630, obtained a grant of the

the ſame from the Council of Plymouth, and a patent from the King; and that Fenwick was properly commiſſioned to ſettle and govern the colony.

Neal, Douglas, and Hutchinſon, ſpeak of this grant and aſſignment with the greateſt confidence; but make no reference where either may be conſulted. They were very willing to believe what they ſaid; and wiſhed to palm it upon the credulity of their readers as a fact too well eſtabliſhed to need proof. I ſhall endeavour to ſhew the futility of their aſſertions. Indeed, Mr. Hutchinſon himſelf inadvertently gives reaſon to doubt the truth of them. Writing of the tranſactions of 1622, "The Earl of Warwick," ſays he, "we are aſſured, had a patent for the "Maſſachuſets-Bay about the ſame time, "but the bounds are not known." It will appear preſently that a part of the territory in queſtion was, in 1635, granted to the Marquis of Hamilton. Now, taking theſe ſeveral items together, the Council of Plymouth

mouth are repreſented to have granted, not only Maſſachuſets-Bay in 1622, but alſo, in 1630, a region of vaſt extent, including Connecticut, to the Earl of Warwick; and then, in 1635, to have regranted the beſt part of the latter to the Marquis of Hamilton. There is an infeaſibility in this ſuppoſition, that, without proof, will deprive it of all credit among perſons who have no particular intereſt in the ſupport of it.

True it is, that Fenwick and his aſſociates were properly authorized to ſettle upon lands belonging to Lords Say and Brook; but that the lands they did ſettle upon were the property of the Earl of Warwick, is not only without proof, but againſt it. It ſeems to be generally agreed, that the Lords Say and Brook were underſtood to have a right to lands upon Connecticut river; but that river being 500 miles long, and running through the greateſt part of New-England, the ſituation of their property was by no means pointed out: whether it lay at the mouth,

mouth, the middle, or northern end, was equally unaſcertained. The ſettlers, indeed, eſtabliſhed themſelves at the mouth; but without ſhewing their right to the ſpot: —they licentiouſly *choſe* it. There never has been produced any writing of conveyance of the land in queſtion from the Council of Plymouth to the Earl of Warwick, or from the Earl of Warwick to the Lords Say and Brook; and therefore their title to it muſt be deemed not good in law. By a letter from Lord Say to Mr Vane, in 1635, it appears, that he [Lord Say], Lord Brook, and others, had thoughts of removing to New-England, but were not determined whether to join the adventurers in Boſton, or to ſettle a new colony.—*Hutchinſ. Hiſt.* Vol. I. p. 42.—If Connecticut had been aſſigned to Lords Say and Brook by the Earl of Warwick, as it is pretended was done in 1631, it is very ſtrange that thoſe Lords ſhould have been in doubt in 1635 where to fix themſelves in New-England, ſince intereſt

intereſt and ambition, as well as fertility of ſoil, would naturally have led them to ſettle in Connecticut, where they had land of their own, and where a ſettlement was already begun, and bore a very promiſing appearance. Hence it ſeems but reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that, if Lords Say and Brook were entitled to any land on Connecticut river, it could not lie within the province of Connecticut; and, if their claims were derived from the Earl of Warwick, it may fairly be concluded, that their property lay much higher up the country, ſince the coaſt appropriated to the Earl of Warwick by Purchas is that at or about Cape Ann. Lords Say and Brook, therefore, might have a right to ſend Fenwick, Peters, &c. to colonize upon the northern parts of Connecticut river, but not Southwardly at the mouth of it: and their neglect of the colony at Saybrook may eaſily be accounted for, by ſuppoſing that they were ſenſible the ſettlers had fixed upon a wrong ſite: an idea cor-

corroborated by this circumſtance, that Fenwick, ſome years after, ſold his property there for a mere trifle, when he might have ſold it dear, if his title had been good.

But it may be aſked, Who were the real proprietors of the eighth and ninth lots?

It is aſſerted, that, on the Council of Plymouth's reſignation of their patent to Charles I. in 1635, that Monarch granted the latter to the Earl of Stirling. Poſſibly there is not now exiſting any written teſtimony of this grant; yet it ſeems authenticated by the ſale which the Earl made, in 1639, by his agent Forreſt, of the Eaſtern part of Long Iſland as appertaining to his lot, to Mr. Howell. However, though his claim is not, perhaps, clearly to be eſtabliſhed, it is by no means liable to the many objections urged againſt that of Lords Say and Brook, which will in a manner be annihilated by the additional argument I am now going to adduce from the *poſitive proof* there is to whom the eighth lot really belongs.

It

It ſtands authenticated in the Office of the Lords Commiſſioners of Colonies, that, in April, 1635, was conveyed to James, Marquis of Hamilton, by a deed from the Council of Plymouth, the territory lying between Narraganſet bay and Connecticut river.—*New-Eng. Rec.* A. p. 201. —The right to the eighth lot, therefore, was clearly veſted in the Marquis; and it only remains to be ſhewn why his deſcendants are not in poſſeſſion of it, to remove every doubt upon the matter.

Unfortunately, in the civil broils of his time, the Marquis engaged and died fighting under royal banners, while the King's enemies took poſſeſſion of his lands in Connecticut. At the Reſtoration of Charles II. to his Crown, Reaſon taught the children of loyal ſufferers to expect a Reſtoration at leaſt of their landed Property; and the Daughter of the Marquis of Hamilton petitioned Charles II. to grant her relief in reſpect to the land lying between Narraganſet bay and Connecticut

necticut river; a relief ſhe had the more reaſon to hope for, as "her Father had "died fighting for his Father." But Charles had been too much poliſhed in foreign Courts to do any thing effectual for his ſuffering Friends. Afterwards the Earl of Arran applied to William III. for redreſs in regard to the ſame land; but that Earl, having acted on the wrong ſide at the Revolution, could not but expect as little from William as the friends of Charles II. had received from *him*. However, William III. ordered the Lords Commiſſioners of Colonies to ſtate his title, which they fairly did; and the Earl was referred to try his cauſe in Connecticut—before the very people who *had his lands in poſſeſſion*. The Governor and Company of Connecticut gave a formal anſwer to the claims of the Earl of Arran, ſetting up a title under the Earl of Warwick, as is above mentioned, who, they ſaid, diſpoſed of the land in diſpute to Lord Say and Seal and Lord Brook,

and

and the Lords Say and Brook ſold the ſame to Fenwick, Peters, and others. The Earl of Arran anſwered, that "when "they produced a grant from the Ply- "mouth Company of thoſe lands to the "Earl of Warwick, it ſhould have an "anſwer:" but the Colony was ſilent; —and King William was ſilent alſo.— *Vide Rec. New-Eng.* A. *p.* 170-201.

Since, then, no proof of any title derived from the Earl of Warwick could be produced by the Governor and Company of Connecticut, when the queſtion of right to the country was fairly brought into litigation, and ſince there is a record of the grant of the eaſtern part of it to the Marquis of Hamilton, it is evident, that the claim of the preſent poſſeſſors under Lords Say and Brook is not valid. The record of the Marquis of Hamilton's grant is an irrefragable proof that thoſe Lords had no right to the tract between Narraganſet bay and Connecticut

river; and thence the concluſion is fair, that they had no right to the tract between Connecticut and Hudſon's river: for their title to both having but one and the ſame foundation, it follows of courſe, that what deſtroys it in the former, deſtroys it in the latter alſo.

However diſputable the Earl of Stirling's claim to the land between Hudſon and Connecticut rivers may be, the Duke of Hamilton is undoubtedly the rightful owner of that between the latter and Narraganſet bay. Thus much I have proved to ſhew the errors of Mather, Neal, Douglas, and Hutchinſon, who aſſert what the above Record contradicts. I differ in opinion alſo with Divines, who ſay that the World grows every year worſe than it was the laſt. I believe the World is growing better every year; and that juſtice will be adminiſtered to the Duke of Hamilton, and other noble proprietors of lands in New-England, who have

have been wickedly ſupplanted by the emigrations of Puritans, Republicans, Regicides, and Smugglers. The time, I hope, is haſtening, when the Records I have quoted will be conſidered, and unjuſt poſſeſſors be ordered to give up their poſſeſſions to the right owners; for we have a King who honours his Crown, and prefers Juſtice to Policy.

Hooker and Haynes, who conducted the ſecond of the three Engliſh parties already ſpoken of as making inroads into Connecticut, and who fixed their head-quarters at Hertford, left Maſſachuſets-Bay for the ſame reaſon they had before left England—to avoid being perſecuted, and to acquire the power to perſecute. Hooker was learned, ambitious, and rigid. He lived near Boſton two years, in hopes of becoming a greater favourite with the people than the celebrated Mr. Cotton; but finding himſelf rather unlikely to meet with the deſired ſucceſs,

he deviſed the project of flying into the *wilderneſs* of Connecticut, to get a name. Accordingly, in 1635, he applied to the General Court for leave to remove thither, but was then refuſed. The next year, however, for reaſons which will hereafter appear, he found the fanatics more compliant; and he and Haynes obtained permiſſion to emigrate into Connecticut, carrying with them, as Mr. Neal expreſſes it, "a ſort of commiſſion from the Go-"vernment of Maſſachuſets-Bay for the "adminiſtration of juſtice" there. But it cannot be ſuppoſed that Hooker and his aſſociates could derive any title to the ſoil from this permiſſion and commiſſion granted by the Maſſachuſets Colony, who had not the leaſt right to it themſelves. The emigrants not only did not entertain any ſuch idea, but, as ſoon as they had diſcovered a ſituation which pleaſed them, they even ſet at nought the commiſſion they took with them, the pro-

profeſſed object of which was to ſecure the authority and juriſdiction claimed by the Maſſachuſets over them. Knowing that they had paſſed the limits of that province, they voted themſelves an independent people, and commenced deſpots, pleading the old adage, *Salus Populi ſuprema Lex.* It has never been ſuggeſted, I believe, that this party entered Connecticut with any other ſemblance of authority than this ridiculous permiſſion and commiſſion of the Maſſachuſets dictators.

As to the third party, headed by Eaton and Davenport, they took poſſeſſion, as is already mentioned, without even pretending any purchaſe, grant, permiſſion, or commiſſion, from any one.

Of theſe three parties, then, it appears that the two laſt had not the leaſt ſhadow of original right to the lands they poſſeſſed themſelves of in Connecticut; and the claims of the firſt I have ſhewn to be ill

founded. I will now conſider the right they are pretended to have acquired after poſſeſſion; in regard to which they ſeem to have been put upon the ſame footing, by a general war between them and the Indians, occaſioned by the ambitious, oppreſſive, and unjuſt conduct of Hooker and Davenport. This war opened a door to king-killing and king-making, violence and injuſtice, in America, ſimiliar to what we have of late years ſhuddered to hear of in India. Hence the Colonies have endeavoured to eſtabliſh a title to the lands by purchaſe of the natives: accordingly, they have produced deeds of ſale ſigned by Sunkſquaw, Uncas, Joſhua, Moodus, and others, whom Mr. Neal and Dr. Mather call Sachems, and conſequently owners of the ſoil. Whether thoſe gentlemen knew, or did not know, that Connecticut was owned by three Sachems only, who with their wives and families were killed by the Engliſh, and who never would

would give a deed of any land to the Dutch or Engliſh, is not material; ſince it is a fact, that not one of thoſe Indians who have ſigned thoſe famous deeds, was ever a Sachem, or proprietor of a ſingle foot of land claimed by the Colony.

It is true, that Uncas (whom Mr. Neal calls a Sachem, becauſe the Coloniſts declared him King of Mohegin, to reward him for deſerting Saſſacus, Sachem of the Pequods) gave deeds of lands that he had no right or title to: and ſo did Sunkſquaw, who, after murdering his Sachem, Quinnipiog, was alſo declared Sachem by the Engliſh Dominion * of Newhaven. Gratitude, or pride, induced all thoſe Engliſh-made Sachems to aſſign deeds to their creators.

After the death of Uncas, his eldeſt ſon Oneko became King of Mohegin, who

* *Dominion*, in New-England, ſignifies a ſovereign, independent ſtate, uncontroulable by any other earthly power.

refuſed to grant any deeds of land to the Colony; whereupon, vexed at his wiſdom and honour, they declared him an inceſtuous ſon, depoſed him, and proclaimed his natural brother Abimeleck to be Sachem of the Mohegins. Oneko gave a deed of all his lands to Maſon and Harriſon, who were his friends; as did Abimeleck, of the ſame lands, to the Colony who had made him Sachem. This laid a foundation for a ſuit at law, which was firſt tried before the Judges of the colony, where Maſon of courſe loſt his ſuit. He appealed to the King in Council, who ordered a ſpecial court to ſit at Norwich, in Connecticut; and Mr. Dudley, a learned man, and Governor of Maſſachuſets-Bay, was the Preſident of it. This Court met, and, having heard the evidence and pleadings of both parties, gave a verdict in favour of Maſon's claim. The Colony appealed home to England, but never proſecuted their ſuit to an iſſue. Maſon died,

died. The Colony kept poſſeſſion under Abimeleck, their created King of Mohegin. About ten years ago, the heirs of Maſon and Harriſon petitioned Government to decree that Dudley's verdict ſhould be enforced; but the Coloniſts found means to confound the claim of thoſe competitors, without eſtabliſhing their own. The truth is, neither the Coloniſts, nor Maſon and Harriſon, ever had any deed or title to thoſe lands from Saſſacus, or his heirs; their deeds ſprung from Uncas, already mentioned, a rebel ſubject of Saſſacus, without any royal blood in his veins:—nevertheleſs, Mr. Neal, and others who have written Hiſtories of New-England, have taken eſpecial care to vindicate the juſtice of the ſettlers, who always, as they ſay, conſcientiouſly purchaſed their lands of Sachems.——I have given the Reader ſome idea of the purchaſes of the firſt colonizers in Connecticut, who, by their iniquitous

quitous art of making Sachems, have entailed law-ſuits without end on their poſterity; for there is not one foot of land in the whole province which is not covered by ten deeds granted by ten different nominal Sachems to ten different perſons: and, what aggravates the misfortune, the Courts of juſtice differ every ſeſſion concerning the true Sachem; ſo that what the plaintiff recovers at a hearing before one jury, he loſes upon a re-hearing before another.

Enough, ſurely, has been ſaid to nullify the Coloniſts plea of having bought their lands of the Indians. As to any purchaſes made of the Saybrook ſettlers, thoſe at Hertford totally declined them, till the farcical buſineſs reſpecting their charter came into agitation between the two junto's who procured it, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter: and ſo far were the people of Newhaven from buying any right of Fenwick or his aſſociates, that

that they ſcorned the idea of claiming under them; nay, it was even one of their principal views in the machinations wherein they were continually employed, to reduce the Saybrook Colony under the tyranny of their own Dominion, as having no more title to the country than poſſeſſion gave them. And upon any other ſuppoſition, it is impoſſible to account for the neglect of the colonizers of Hertford to ſecure their lands by ſuch a purchaſe, ſeeming as they did to ranſack heaven and earth for a title ſatisfactory even in their own eyes: they were conſcious no purchaſe of that kind could give them firmer footing than they had already. The truth therefore, undoubtedly, is, that Fenwick and Peters had no legal right to ſell the lands they occupied, whatever might be their pretenſions;—nor, indeed, did they pretend to the power of ſelling more on their own account than was granted to them ſeverally by their patrons the

Lords

Lords Say and Brook, which cannot be ſuppoſed but an inconſiderable proportion of their American property.——No wonder, then, that we find another claim ſet up;—a claim by conqueſt. This was particularly agreeable to the genius of the Hertford and Newhaven heroes; but will, nevertheleſs, appear to make as little for their right as their honour, from the following conſiderations:—Firſt, the invaders did not find Connecticut in a ſtate of nature, but cultivated and ſettled by its Indian inhabitants, whoſe numbers were thouſands, and who had three kings, viz. Connecticote, Quinnipiog, and Saſſacus, of whom Connecticote was Emperor, or King of Kings; a dignity he and his anceſtors had enjoyed, according to the Indian mode of reckoning, twenty ſticks *; *i. e.* time immemorial. Secondly, they had no

* The Indian mode of counting is from One to Twenty. Every year they cut a notch in a ſtick;

no authority to invade, make war upon, and *conquer*, the Indians, who were not at war with the King of England, nor his patentees, or their aſſigns. And, Thirdly, ſeizures, without legal commiſſion, of however long ſtanding, do not convey right or title by the Engliſh law.

Feeling the weight of theſe conſiderations, the Coloniſts have been obliged to found their claim to the country on their charter, which was obtained in 1662, more than twenty-ſix years after they had taken poſſeſſion. Here again, they are deſtitute of ſupport; for the King, any more than his ſubjects, could not give to others the property of the Duke of Hamilton, unleſs his title had been proved to be forfeited by due

ſtick; and, when the ſtick is full, or has twenty notches on it, they lay it up, and take another. When they have thus cut twenty ſticks, they reckon no more;——the number of twenty times twenty, with them, becomes infinite, or incomprehenſible.

courſe

courſe of law. But the charter created no title; it merely conferred on the people the authority of a legal corporation, without conveying any title to the lands. And, indeed, the prevarications of the Coloniſts themſelves in regard to their charter-claim, ſufficiently explode it. Whenever they find their property affected by any duty, cuſtom, &c. impoſed by Parliament, and warranted by charter, they allege that *they got the lands in poſſeſſion by their own arm*, without the aid of the King and Parliament of Great-Britain; as Charles II. allowed in granting the charter, which conveyed no title, but was founded upon the title they poſſeſſed before the date of it. At other times, when theſe ſelfiſh temporizers find it convenient, either for promoting their own, or preventing their neighbours encroachments, then they plead their charter as the *one* only *thing needful* to prove their right of land even to the South Sea itſelf!

In

In ſhort, and upon the whole, Poſſeſſion, begun in Uſurpation, is the beſt title the inhabitants of Connecticut ever had, or can ſet up, unleſs they can prove they hold the lands by an heavenly grant, as the Iſraelites did thoſe of Canaan. This heavenly title was, indeed, ſet up by Peters, Hooker, and Davenport, the three firſt miniſters that ſettled in Connecticut; and is generally believed through the Colony to this day. They thus ſyllogiſtically ſtated it:—*The Heathen are driven out, and we have their lands in poſſeſſion; they were numerous, and we but few; therefore the Lord hath done this great work, to give his beloved reſt.*

Thus much for the various pretenſions of the occupiers of Connecticut in regard to their right to the ſoil. I ſhall now give ſome account of the proceedings of the firſt ſettlers with reſpect to their religious and civil eſtabliſhments; and of their political tranſactions, &c. &c.

The

The party which ſettled at Saybrook under George Fenwick, Eſq. and the Rev. Thomas Peters, in 1634, contented themſelves, in framing the polity of their civil conſtitution, with the laws of England, and a few local regulations. As to their eccleſiaſtical inſtitutions, they voted themſelves to be a Church independent on Lord-biſhops, and Mr. Peters to be their miniſter, whoſe epiſcopal ordination was deemed good, notwithſtanding he had been ſilenced in England. They voted preſbyters to be biſhops, and poſſeſſed of power to ordain miniſters, when invited by a proper number of people formed into a ſociety by licence from the Governor. They voted that a certain part of the Liturgy of the Church of England might be uſed; the Lord's Prayer, and the Apoſtles Creed, together with one Chapter in the Bible, to be read at morning and evening ſervice, or omitted, at the diſcretion of the Miniſter: — that extem-

tempore prayers might be uſed at the pleaſure of the Miniſter; but that the ſurplice ſhould not be worn, nor ſhould the ſign of the croſs at baptiſms, the ceremony of the ring at marriages, or ſaints-days, &c. &c. be obſerved, as in the Church of England:—that every ſociety licenſed by the Governor, after having a Miniſter ordained over it, be a complete Church, and inveſted with the keys of diſcipline, dependent only upon Chriſt, the head of his Church:—that the Miniſter ſhould be the judge of the qualifications for church-membership, and ſhould cenſure diſorderly walkers:—that the members in full communion ſhould have power over the Miniſter, and might diſmiſs him from his pariſh, by a majority of voices, and with the conſent of the Governor:—that all children were the objects of Baptiſm, and that none ſhould be debarred that ſacrament for the ſins of their parents, provided an orderly liver

would engage to bring them up in the ways of Chriſtianity:—that all ſober perſons might partake of the Lord's-Supper, provided the Miniſter, upon examination, ſhould find them ſufficiently acquainted with their duty:—that what is commonly called Converſion, is not abſolutely neceſſary before receiving the Lord's Supper, becauſe that ſacrament is a converting ordinance:—that all Goſpel Miniſters were upon an equality in office; and that it was the buſineſs of every one to admoniſh a tranſgreſſor, privately in the firſt place, and next, if no attention was paid to his advice, before his Deacons; then, if their admonition was diſregarded, the offender ſhould be preſented to the Church, (that is, the Miniſter, Deacons, and Communicants, united by the keys of diſcipline,) and, upon his ſtill continuing refractory, he ſhould be cenſured and rejected by the majority of voters, without any appeal:—that Deacons ſhould be choſen by the

the Miniſter and Communicants, upon a majority of voices, and ordained by the Miniſter, according to the holy practice of St. Paul:—that it was the duty of the Governor and civil Magiſtrates to protect and nurture the Church, but not to govern it; becauſe Chriſt's authority given to his Church was above principalities and all civil powers:—&c. &c.

The ſettlers at Hertford, having declared themſelves to be an independent Colony, and that their dominion extended from ſea to ſea, voted Haynes to be their Governor, and appointed ſix Counſellors to aſſiſt him in framing laws and regulating the ſtate. The ſame ſpirit of independence dictated their church-diſcipline. They voted Mr. Hooker to be their Miniſter, and ſix of their church-members to ordain him. Mr. Hooker accepted of their vote or call, renounced his epiſcopal ordination, and was ordained by the ſix lay church-members over the

Church of the independents in Hertford. Thus Mr. Hooker, who was born in Leiceſterſhire, educated in Cambridge, ordained by a Biſhop, ſilenced by a Biſhop in 1630, in England, and re-ordained by ſix laymen in America, became, what he wiſhed to be, the head of the independents in the Dominion of Hertford, where he had the honour and pleaſure of exerciſing, over all who differed from him in opinion, that violent ſpirit of perſecution which he and his friends ſo clamorouſly decried as too intolerant to be endured in England. Some of the characteriſtic doctrines of this perſecuting fanatic were of the following purport:---That Chriſt's Church is not univerſal, but a particular, viſible Church formed by general conſent and covenant:---that Chriſt has committed the power of binding and looſing to believers, without any diſtinction between clergy and laity:---that ruling and preaching elders are duly ordained

ordained to their office by the election and the impoſition of the hands of the people :---that the tables and ſeals of the covenant, the offices and cenſures of Chriſt's Church, the adminiſtration of all his public worſhip and ordinances, are in the *cætus fidelium*, or combination of godly, faithful men, met in one congregation :---that a dioceſan, provincial or national aſſembly, is incompatible with the nature of Chriſt's Church ; ſeeing all and every member of Chriſt's Church are to meet every Lord's-day in one place, for the adminiſtration of the holy ordinances of God :---that a multitude of free people may elect and ordain a king over them, although they were not, prior to the act, poſſeſſed of kingly power ; for the people of Iſrael impoſed their hands on the Levites, when they themſelves were not Levites;--Numb. viii. 10.—— that nature has given virtual power to a free people to ſet up any chriſtian form of govern-

ment, both in Church and State, which they ſee beſt for themſelves in the land; but Chriſt gave the power of the keys to his church, *i. e.* to his believing people, and not to Peter or to Paul as miniſters, but as profeſſed believers, in conjunction with the reſt of true believers: ---that the Church hath not abſolute power to chuſe whom it will; it hath miniſterial power only to chuſe whom Chriſt hath choſen, *i. e.* ſuch as he has gifted and fitted for the work of the miniſtry: ---that neither Popes, Biſhops, nor Preſbyters, are neceſſary to ordain Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt; becauſe the power of the keys is given by Chriſt to his Church, *i. e.* the people in covenant with God:---that, as ordination is in the power of each Church, no Church hath power over another, but all ſtand in brotherly equality:---that it is unlawful for any Church of Chriſt to put out of its hand that power which Chriſt has given to it, into the

the hands of other Churches:---that no one Church ought to ſend to Miniſters of other Churches to ordain its Miniſters, or to cenſure its offenders:---that Baptiſm does not make any-one a member of Chriſt's church, becauſe papiſts and other heretics are baptized; therefore, to be a member of Chriſt's Church, is to own the covenant of that particular Church where God has placed ſuch member:---that ſeven perſons may form a church of Chriſt, but 15,000 cannot, becauſe ſuch a number cannot meet in one place, nor hear, nor partake, nor be edified together:---that no one can partake of the Lord's-Supper, till he be converted and has manifeſted his faith and repentance before the Church:---&c. &c.

The laws made by the Governor and Council of Hertford are, in general, much of the ſame ſtamp with thoſe of the Newhaven legiſlators, of ſome of which an abſtract will be given hereafter.

The fanatics at Newhaven, in like manner with thoſe of Hertford, voted themſelves to be a Dominion independent, and choſe Eaton for their Governor, and Davenport for their Miniſter. The Governor and a Committee had the power of making laws for the State, and the Miniſter, aſſiſted by Deacons and Elders, was to rule the Church. The following is a ſpecimen of the tenets eſtabliſhed by Davenport in the latter :---That Chriſt has conveyed all Power to his people both in Church and State; which Power they are to exerciſe until Chriſt ſhall return on Earth, to reign 1000 years over his militant Saints :---that all other Kings, beſides Chriſt and his elected People, are peſtilent uſurpers and enemies to God and Man :---that all Vicars, Rectors, Deans, Prieſts, and Biſhops, are of the Devil; are Wolves, petty Popes, and antichriſtian Tyrants :---that Paſtors and Teachers of particular Congregations are

of

of Chriſt, and muſt be choſen by his people; *i. e.* the elect and choſen from the foundation of the world; or elſe their entrance and miniſtry are unlawful:---that all things of human invention in the worſhip of God, ſuch as are in the Maſs-book and Common-Prayer, are unſavory in the ſight of God:---that eccleſiaſtical cenſures ought to be exerciſed by the Members of particular Congregations among themſelves:----that the People ſhould not ſuffer this ſupreme power to be wreſted out of their hands, until Chriſt ſhall begin his reign:---that all good people ought to pray always that God would raze the old Papal foundation of epiſcopal government, together with the filthy ceremonies of that antichriſtian Church:---that every particular who neglects this duty, may juſtly fear that curſe pronounced againſt Meroz,—Judg. v. 23, *Curſe ye Meroz; becauſe they came not to help the Lord againſt the mighty*

mighty enemies of God and his Church :— that every particular Congregation is an abſolute Church ; the members of it are to be all Saints ; thoſe muſt enter into covenant among themſelves, and without ſuch a covenant there can be no Church :— that it is an heinous ſin to be preſent when prayers are read out of a book by a Vicar or Biſhop :---that ſubjects promiſe obedience to obtain help from the Magiſtrates, and are diſcharged from their promiſe when the Magiſtrates fail in their duty :---that, without liberty from the Prince or Magiſtrate, the People may reform the Church and State, and muſt not wait for the Magiſtrates :---&c. &c. ——This Dominion, this tyrant of tyrants, adopted the Bible for its code of civil laws, till others ſhould be made more ſuitable to its circumſtances. The proviſion was politic. The lawgivers ſoon diſcovered that the precepts in the Old and New Teſtaments were inſufficient to ſupport

ſupport them in their arbitrary and bloody undertakings: they, therefore, gave themſelves up to *their own inventions* in making others, wherein, in ſome inſtances, they betrayed ſuch an extreme degree of wanton cruelty and oppreſſion, that even the rigid fanatics of Boſton, and the mad zealots of Hertford, put to the bluſh, chriſtened them the *Blue Laws*; and the former held a day of thankſgiving, becauſe God, in his good providence, had ſtationed Eaton and Davenport ſo far from them.

The religous ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by Peters at Saybrook was well calculated to pleaſe the moderate Puritans and zealots of all denominations; but the fanatics of the Maſſachuſets-Bay, who hated every part of the Common-Prayer-book worſe than the Council of Trent and the papal power exerciſed over heretics, were alarmed at the conduct of the half-reformed ſchiſmatics in that colony; and, thinking that

that their dear *Salem* might be endangered by ſuch impure worſhipers, conſented, in the year 1636, to give Mr. Hooker and his aſſociates liberty to emigrate to Hertford, notwithſtanding the preceding year they had refuſed ſuch liberty, ſeeing then no reaſon for Hooker's ſeizing the territory of other people. But when the New-England Vine was ſuppoſed to be threatened by the Bible, Lord's-Prayer, and Ten Commandments, the pious people of Maſſachuſets-Bay permitted Hooker, in 1636, to remove into and govern Connecticut by their authority, and to impede and break up the worſhip of the *Peterites* in Saybrook. Hooker was faithful to his truſt, excepting that, when he got to Hertford, he rejected the authority of his employers in the Maſſachuſets-Bay, ſet up a new dominion, and perſecuted the *Peterites* under his own banner, though he called it the banner of Jeſus.—But for his and Davenport's tyrannical conduct, the

the Colony at Saybrook would have lived in peace with the Indians, as they did till their artful and overbearing neighbours brought on a general war between them and the Engliſh, which ended with the death of Saſſacus and the deſtruction of all his ſubjects. After that war, great diſſention aroſe among the conquerors. Fenwick was ſenſible, of a calm diſpoſition, and very religious; yet not entirely void of ambition. He claimed the government of all Connecticut, and inſiſted upon payment for ſuch lands as were poſſeſſed by Hooker and Davenport, and their aſſociates: this, he ſaid, was but common juſtice due to his conſtituents, the Lords Say and Brook. Hooker and Davenport, however, were not fond of his doctrine of *juſtice*, but made *religion*, *liberty*, and *power*, the greater objects of their concern; wherein they were ſupported by the people of Maſſachuſets-Bay, whoſe ſpirits were congenial with their

their own. Hence no opportunity was loſt of prejudicing Saybrook; and the troubles in the Mother-Country furniſhed their enemies with many. One ſtep they took, in particular, operated much to its diſadvantage. The Maſſachuſets Colony, eager to act againſt Charles I. agreed with thoſe of Hertford and Newhaven, Newhampſhire, and Rhode-Iſland, to ſend agents to England, aſſuring the Houſe of Commons of their readineſs to aſſiſt againſt the King and Biſhops. The Saybrook ſettlers, though zealous againſt the Biſhops, were not much inclined to rebellion againſt their King, and therefore took no part in this tranſaction. As the royal cauſe loſt ground in England, the apprehenſions of this Colony increaſed; and Fenwick, finding himſelf unſupported by the Lords Say and Brook, thought it prudent to diſpoſe of his colonial property to Peters and his aſſociates, and return to England. Confuſion being eſtabliſhed

bliſhed in England, moderation became an unpardonable ſin in Saybrook, which both the neighbouring Colonies were ready to puniſh by aſſuming the juriſdiction there: mutual jealouſy alone prevented it. At length, during Cromwell's ~~uſurpation~~ Government, the inhabitants, fearing the effects of his diſpleaſure for not joining in the above-mentioned addreſs to the Commons in England, and eſpecially leſt he ſhould put them under the power of the furious Davenport, and at the ſame time foreſeeing no proſpect of the Reſtoration, judged it adviſeable, by way of preferring the leſſer to the greater evil, to form a ſort of alliance and junction with the people of Hertford, where Hooker now lay numbered with the dead. The Colony was not only hereby enabled to maintain its ground, but flouriſhed greatly; and the Miniſter, Thomas Peters, eſtabliſhed a ſchool in Saybrook, which his children had the ſatisfaction to ſee become a College,

College, denominated Yale College, of which a particular account will be given in the courſe of this work. He was a churchman of the puritanic order, zealous, learned, and of a mild diſpoſition; and frequently wrote to his brother Hugh at Salem *, to exerciſe more moderation, leſt "overmuch zeal ſhould ruin him "and the cauſe they were embarked in."

At

* William, Thomas, and Hugh Peters, were brothers, and born at Fowey, in Cornwall, in Old England. Their Father was a merchant of great property; and their Mother was Elizabeth Treffry, Daughter of John Treffry, Eſq. of a very ancient and opulent family in Fowey.---William was educated at Leyden, Thomas at Oxford, and Hugh at Cambridge univerſities.---About the years 1610 and 1620, Thomas and Hugh were clergymen in London, and William was a private gentleman.---About 1628, Thomas and Hugh, rendered obnoxious by their popularity and puritaniſm, were ſilenced by the Biſhop of London.---They then went to Holland, and remained there till 1633, when they returned to London.---The three brothers ſold their landed property, and went to New-England in 1634.---

Hugh

At his death, which did not happen till after the Reſtoration of Charles II. he bequeathed his library to the ſchool above mentioned.

The Hugh ſettled at Salem, and became too popular for Mather and Cotton. He was ſoon appointed one of the Truſtees of the College at New-Cambridge.---He built a grand houſe, and purchaſed a large tract of land.---The yard before his houſe he paved with flint-ſtones from England; and, having dug a well, he paved that round with flint-ſtones alſo, for the accommodation of every inhabitant in want of water. It bears the name of Peters's Spring to this day.--- He married a ſecond wife, by whom he had one daughter named Elizabeth. The renown of this zealot increaſing, he received an invitation to remove from Salem to Boſton, and, complying with it, he there laid the foundation-ſtone of the great Meeting-Houſe, of which the Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooper, one of the moſt learned of the Literati in America, is the preſent miniſter. Mather and Cotton ill brooked being out-rivalled by Hugh; yet, finding him an orthodox fanatic, and more perfect than themſelves, they ſeemingly bowed to his ſuperiority, at the ſame time that they laid a ſnare for his deſtruction. In 1641 thoſe envious paſtors conſpired with the Court at Boſton to convert their Biſhop Hugh into a

The religious inſtitutions of Hooker at Hertford were not only binding on the Dutch, but even extended to the great Connecticote himſelf. The Sachem did not

Politician, and appoint him agent to Great Britain.---The Plot ſucceeded; and Hugh aſſumed his agency under colour of petitioning for ſome abatement of cuſtoms and exciſe; but his real commiſſion was to foment the civil diſcontents, jars, and wars, then prevailing between the King and Parliament.---Hugh did not ſee into the policy of Mather and Cotton; and he had a ſtrong inclination to chaſtiſe the Biſhops and Court, who had turned him out of the Church for his fanatical conduct. On his arrival in London, the Parliament took him into their ſervice.---The Earls of Warwick and Eſſex were alſo his patrons.---In 1644, the Parliament gave him Archbiſhop Laud's library; and ſoon after made him Head of the Archbiſhop's Court, and gave him his eſtate and palace at Lambeth:---all which Hugh kept till the Reſtoration, when he paid for his zeal, his puritaniſm, and rebellion, on a gibbet at Charing-Croſs.—— His daughter married a merchant in Newport, Rhode-Iſland, and lived and died with an excellent character.---Her Father having met with ſo tragical an end, I omit to mention her Huſband's

not like his new neighbours; he refuſed to give or ſell any land to them; but told them, that, as they came to trade, and to ſpread the Chriſtian Religion among

Huſband's name, whoſe Poſterity live in good reputation.——Governor Hutchinſon reports, that the widow of Hugh Peters was ſupported, till 1671, by a collection at Salem, of 30l. per ann. Were this report true, it would be much to the reputation of Salem for having *once* relieved the unfortunate. Mr. Hutchinſon might have pointed out the cauſe of the unhappy widow's neceſſity; but he has left that part to me, and here it follows:---After Hugh's Death, the ſelectmen of Salem were afraid that the King [Charles II.] would ſeize on his eſtate in Salem, as had been the caſe in regard to what the Parliament had given him in England. They therefore trumped up a debt, and ſeized and ſold the ſaid eſtate to the families of Lyndes and Curwin, who poſſeſs it to the preſent time;---and the ſelectmen of Salem allowed the widow 30l. per ann. for the wrong they had done her and her daughter. It is not likely that the widow was ſupported by any charitable collection; for William Peters was a man of great property, and had a deed of the whole peninſula whereon Boſton ſtands, which he purchaſed of Mr. Blaxton, who

among his ſubjects, which Mr. Hooker defined to conſiſt only in peace, love, and juſtice, he had no objection to their building wigwams, planting corn, and hunting

bought it of the Plymouth Company; though Mr. Hutchinſon ſays Blaxton's title aroſe merely from his ſleeping on it the firſt of any Engliſhman †.---This was well ſaid by Mr. Hutchinſon, who wanted to juſtify the people of Salem in ſeizing the land and expelling Mr. Blaxton from his ſettlement in 1630, becauſe he ſaid he liked Lords-Brethren leſs than Lords-Biſhops.---Moreover, Thomas Peters, at the ſame time, was living at Saybrook, and was not poor.---Thoſe two Gentlemen were able and willing to ſupport the widow of an unfortunate brother whom they loved very tenderly.---They took great care of his daughter, and left her handſome legacies.---From theſe conſiderations, I am induced to believe, that the widow of Hugh Peters never ſubſiſted

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in their conduct. Many people of Maſſachuſets-Bay, hearing that Hooker had made good terms with the Sachem, left their perſecutors, and fled to the fertile banks

views of the Company to New-England, yet they, and their Committee of Correſpondence in Boſton, have of late years vouchſafed to ſend moſt of their Miſſionaries out of New-England, among the Six Nations, and the unſanctified epiſcopalians in the Southern Colonies, where was a competent number of church clergymen. Whenever this work of ſupererogation has met with its deſerved animadverſion, their anſwer has been, that, though Cromwell limited them to New-England, yet Chriſt had extended their bounds from ſea to ſea! With what little reaſon do they complain of King William's charter to the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts? This Society have ſent Miſſionaries to New-England, where they have an undoubted right to ſend them, to ſupply epiſcopal Churches already eſtabliſhed there; whereas the other Society ſend Miſſionaries beyond the limits of their charter, to alienate the minds of the epiſcopal Indians of the Six Nations, againſt the epiſcopal Miſſionaries and the Government of the Mother-Country.---And they have been too ſucceſsful; eſpecially ſince the Rev. Dr. Eleazer Wheelock,

banks of Connecticut, that they might help Hooker ſpread the Goſpel among the poor benighted Heathen in the wilderneſs. The Reverend Mr. Huet, with his diſciples, fixed at Windſor, eight miles north of Hertford; and the Reverend Mr. Smith, at Weathersfield, four miles ſouth of it. In the ſpace of eighteen months, the Dominion of Hertford contained ſeven-hundred white people, and ſeven independent churches. Having converted over to the Chriſtian faith ſome few Indians, among whom was Joſhua, an ambitious captain under the great Sachem Connecticote, Hooker,

Wheelock, Dr. Whitaker, and the Rev. Mr. Sampſon Occom, by the Charity of England, have joined in the ſame work.---To the General Aſſembly, and the Conſociation of Connecticut, Dr. Wheelock and his aſſociates are much beholden for their ſucceſs in converting the poor benighted ſavages in the howling wilderneſs. Their merits are great, and their reward is pending.

Huet, Smith, and others, hereby found means to ſpread the *Goſpel* into every Indian town, and, to the eternal infamy of chriſtian policy, thoſe renowned, pious fathers of this new colony, with the Goſpel, ſpread the ſmall-pox. This diſtemper raged in every corner: it ſwept away the great Sachem Connecticote, and laid waſte his ancient kingdom. Hereupon, Haynes and his aſſembly proclaimed Joſhua Sachem; and ſuch as did not acknowledge his ſachemic power, were compelled to ſuffer death, or fly the Dominion. Thus in three years time, by the Goſpel and fanatic policy, was deſtroyed Connecticote, the greateſt king in North-America. This remarkable event was conſidered as the work of the Lord; and the ſavage nations were told that the like calamities would befal them, unleſs they embraced the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. Joſhua was grateful to the Engliſh who had made him Sachem, and gave them deeds

deeds of thoſe lands which had conſtantly been refuſed by Connecticote. But Joſhua had as little honour as virtue and loyalty: he ſupported himſelf many years by ſigning deeds, and gulled the Engliſh through their own imprudence in neglecting to make a law for recording them. —Theſe coloniſts, having driven out the Heathen, and got poſſeſſion of a land which flowed with milk and honey, expelled the Dutch, as a dangerous ſet of heretics;—and Hooker, after doing ſo much for this new Dominion, expected the homage from every Church which is only due to a Biſhop. This homage, however, he could not obtain, becauſe each Miniſter had pretenſions not much inferior to his. Diſputes aroſe about Doctrine and Diſcipline. Hooker taught that there were forty-two kinds of Grace, though all of little value, except that of "ſaving Grace." As to Diſcipline, he held, that, as he had received his miniſterial

ſterial ordination from the Laity who were members in full communion, he conſidered thoſe actual communicants as *Chriſt's Church here on earth*, and conſequently as holding the keys of diſcipline; and he maintained, that the Miniſter had but a ſingle voice, and was a ſubject of the Church. Other Miniſters, who had received epiſcopal ordination, but had been ſilenced by their Biſhops, judged themſelves, notwithſtanding, to be Miniſters of Chriſt; and alleged that the inſtallation of a Miniſter by prayer and impoſition of hands of lay communicants, was no ordination, but a ceremony only of putting a Miniſter in poſſeſſion of his Church, from which he might be diſmiſſed by a majority of voters of the Members in full communion. And thoſe Miniſters taught for doctrine, that mankind were ſaved by Grace, and that the Goſpel told us of but one Grace as neceſſary to Salvation; for that *he who believes that Jeſus is the Son*

of

of God, is born of God, and enjoys the Grace of God which brings Salvation. The majority of the People of courſe were on the ſide of Mr. Hooker, as his plan eſtabliſhed their power over the Miniſter; and they ſoon determined by vote, according to their code of laws, in his favour. But the Miniſters and minority were not convinced by this vote, and, to avoid an excommunication, formed themſelves into ſeparate bodies; nevertheleſs, they ſoon felt the thundering anathemas of Hooker, and the heated vengeance of the civil power. However, perſecution, by her certain conſequence, fixed the ſeparatiſts in their ſchiſm, which continues to the preſent time.—Hooker reigned twelve years high-prieſt over Hertford; and then died above ſixty years of age, to the great joy of the ſeparatiſts, but, in point of populouſneſs, to the diſadvantage of the colony of Saybrook, which was the little Zoar for Hooker's heretics.

Exact

Exact in tything mint and aniſe, the furies of Newhaven for once affected the *weightier matters* of juſtice. They had no title to the land: they applied to Quinnipiog, the Sachem, for a deed or grant of it. The Sachem refuſed to give the lands of his anceſtors to ſtrangers. The ſettlers had teeming inventions, and immediately voted themſelves to be the *Children of God*, and that *the wilderneſs in the utmoſt parts of the earth* was given to them. This vote became a law forever after. It is true, Davenport endeavoured to *chriſtianize* Quinnipiog, but in vain: however, he *converted* Sunkſquaw, one of his ſubjects, by preſents and great promiſes; and then Sunkſquaw betrayed his maſter, and the ſettlers killed him. This aſſaſſination of Quinnipiog brought on a war between the Engliſh and Indians, which never ended by treaty of peace. The Indians, having only bows and arrows, were driven back into the woods; whilſt the Engliſh

Engliſh, with their ſwords and guns, kept poſſeſſion of the country. But, conſcious of their want of title to it, they voted Sunkſquaw to be Sachem, and that whoever diſputed his authority ſhould ſuffer death. Sunkſquaw, in return, aſſigned to the Engliſh thoſe lands of which they had made him Sachem. Lo! here is all the title the ſettlers of the Dominion of Newhaven ever obtained.——The cruel and bloody perſecutions under Eaton and Davenport in Newhaven ſoon gave riſe to ſeveral little towns upon the ſea-coaſt. Emigrants from England arrived every year to ſettle in this Dominion; but few remained in Newhaven, on account of Eaton, Davenport, the Deacons, and Elders, who poſſeſſed all power there, and were determined to keep it. The new-comers, therefore, under pretence of ſpreading Chriſt's kingdom, and ſhunning perſecution, joined with the ſettlers at Stamford, Guilford, and Stratford, where, however,

perſecution

perſecution domineered with as much fury as at Newhaven; for each town judged itſelf to be an independent Dominion; though, for fear of the Dutch and the Indians, they formed a political union, and ſwore to bear true allegiance to the capital Newhaven, whoſe authority was ſupreme. As all officers in every town were annually elected by the freemen, and as there were many candidates, ſome of whom muſt be unſucceſsful, there was always room for complaints. The complainants formed ſchiſms in the Church, which brought on perſecution; and perſecution drove the minority to ſettle new towns, in order to enjoy Liberty, Peace, and Power to perſecute ſuch as differed from them. Thus lived thoſe ambitious people, under far worſe perſecutions from one another than they ever experienced or complained of in Old England; all which they endured with ſome degree of patience, the perſecuted one year

year living in hopes that the next would enable them to retaliate on their perſecutors.

The laws made by this independent Dominion, and denominated *Blue-Laws* by the neighbouring Colonies, were never ſuffered to be printed; but the following ſketch of ſome of them will give a tolerable idea of the ſpirit which pervades the whole.

"The Governor and Magiſtrates, convened in general Aſſembly, are the ſupreme power under God of this independent Dominion.

From the determination of the Aſſembly no appeal ſhall be made.

The Governor is amenable to the voice of the people.

The Governor ſhall have only a ſingle vote in determining any queſtion; except a caſting vote, when the Aſſembly may be equally divided.

The Aſſembly of the People ſhall not be

be diſmiſſed by the Governor, but ſhall diſmiſs itſelf.

Conſpiracy againſt this Dominion ſhall be puniſhed with death.

Whoever ſays there is a power and juriſdiction above and over this Dominion, ſhall ſuffer death and loſs of property.

Whoever attempts to change or overturn this Dominion ſhall ſuffer death.

The judges ſhall determine controverſies without a jury.

No one ſhall be a freeman, or give a vote, unleſs he be converted, and a member in full communion of one of the Churches allowed in this Dominion.

No man ſhall hold any office, who is not ſound in the faith, and faithful to this Dominion; and whoever gives a vote to ſuch a perſon, ſhall pay a fine of 1l. for a ſecond offence, he ſhall be disfranchiſed.

Each freeman ſhall ſwear by the bleſſed God to bear true allegiance to this Dominion,

Dominion, and that Jeſus is the only King.

No quaker or diſſenter from the eſtabliſhed worſhip of this Dominion ſhall be allowed to give a vote for the election of Magiſtrates, or any officer.

No food or lodging ſhall be afforded to a Quaker, Adamite, or other Heretic.

If any perſon turns Quaker, he ſhall be baniſhed, and not ſuffered to return but upon pain of death.

No Prieſt ſhall abide in the Dominion: he ſhall be baniſhed, and ſuffer death on his return. Prieſts may be ſeized by any one without a warrant.

No one to croſs a river, but with an authorized ferryman.

No one ſhall run on the Sabbath-day, or walk in his garden or elſewhere, except reverently to and from meeting.

No one ſhall travel, cook victuals, make beds, ſweep houſe, cut hair, or ſhave, on the Sabbath-day. X

St. D. Theodorus, Abp. of Canterbury, wrote a summary of the discipline of the Greeks & Latins; in which was this rule: None may travel on Sundays in a boat, or a chariot, or on horseback, or bake any bread: none may eat flesh or things strangled.
See Fleury Eccl. Hist. Vol. 9. p. 102
and Jortin's Remarks on Eccl. Hist. Vol. 3. p. 66

No woman ſhall kiſs her child on the Sabbath or faſting-day.

The Sabbath ſhall begin at ſunſet on Saturday.

To pick an ear of corn growing in a neighbour's garden, ſhall be deemed theft.

A perſon accuſed of treſpaſs in the night ſhall be judged guilty, unleſs he clear himſelf by his oath.

When it appears that an accuſed has confederates, and he refuſes to diſcover them, he may be racked.

No one ſhall buy or ſell lands without permiſſion of the ſelectmen.

A drunkard ſhall have a maſter appointed by the ſelectmen, who are to debar him from the liberty of buying and ſelling.

Whoever publiſhes a lye to the prejudice of his neighbour, ſhall ſit in the ſtocks, or be whipped fifteen ſtripes.

No Miniſter ſhall keep a ſchool.

Every

Every rateable perſon, who refuſes to pay his proportion to the ſupport of the Miniſter of the town or pariſh, ſhall be fined by the Court 2*l.* and 4*l.* every quarter, until he or ſhe pay the rate to the Miniſter.

Men-ſtealers ſhall ſuffer death.

Whoever wears cloaths trimmed with gold, ſilver, or bone lace, above two ſhillings by the yard, ſhall be preſented by the grand jurors, and the ſelectmen ſhall tax the offender at 300*l.* eſtate.

A debtor in priſon, ſwearing he has no eſtate, ſhall be let out, and ſold, to make ſatisfaction.

Whoever ſets a fire in the woods, and it burns a houſe, ſhall ſuffer death; and perſons ſuſpected of this crime ſhall be impriſoned, without benefit of bail.

Whoever brings cards or dice into this Dominion ſhall pay a fine of 5*l.*

No one ſhall read Common-Prayer, keep Chriſtmas or Saints-days, make

minced pies, dance, play cards, or play on any inſtrument of muſic, except the drum, trumpet, and jews-harp.

No Goſpel Miniſter ſhall join people in marriage; the Magiſtrates only ſhall join in marriage, as they may do it with leſs ſcandal to Chriſt's Church †.

When parents refuſe their children convenient marriages, the Magiſtrates ſhall determine the point.

The ſelectmen, on finding children ignorant, may take them away from their parents, and put them into better hands, at the expence of their parents.

Fornication ſhall be puniſhed by compelling marriage, or as the Court may think proper.

Adultery ſhall be puniſhed with death.

A man that ſtrikes his wife ſhall pay a fine of 10*l.* a woman that ſtrikes her

† The Savage Pawawwers, or Prieſts, never concern themſelves with marriages, but leave them to the Panieſh, or Magiſtrates.

huſband

huſband ſhall be puniſhed as the Court directs.

A wife ſhall be deemed good evidence againſt her huſband.

No man ſhall court a maid in perſon, or by letter, without firſt obtaining conſent of her parents: 5*l.* penalty for the firſt offence; 10*l.* for the ſecond; and, for the third, impriſonment during the pleaſure of the Court.

Married perſons muſt live together, or be impriſoned.

Every male ſhall have his hair cut round according to a cap *."

Of ſuch ſort were the laws made by the people of Newhaven, previous to their incorporation with Saybrook and Hertford colonies by the charter. They conſiſt of a vaſt multitude, and were very properly termed *Blue Laws*; i. e. *bloody*

* The Levitical law forbids cutting the hair, or rounding the head.

Laws; for they were all ſanctified with excommunication, confiſcation, fines, baniſhment, whippings, cutting off the ears, burning the tongue, and death. Europe at this day might well ſay the Religion of the firſt ſettlers at Newhaven was fanaticiſm turned mad; and did not ſimilar laws ſtill prevail over New-England as the common law of the country, I would have left them in ſilence along with Dr. Mather's *Patres conſcripti*, and the renowned Saints of Mr. Neal, to ſleep to the end of time. No one, but a partial and blind bigot, can pretend to ſay the projectors of them were men of *Grace*, *Juſtice*, and *Liberty*, when nothing but *murders*, *plunders*, and *perſecutions*, mark their ſteps. The beſt apology that can be made for them is, (I write in reference to thoſe times,) that human nature is every-where the ſame; and that the mitred Lord and canting Puritan are equally dangerous, or that both agree in the

the unchriſtian doctrine of perſecution, and contend only which ſhall put it in practice. Mr. Neal ſays many call the firſt Colonizers in New-England weak men for ſeparating from the Church of England, and ſuffering perſecutions, rather than comply with indifferent ceremonies; and, after aſſerting that they were men of great learning and goodneſs, he appeals to the world to judge, which were weak, the Biſhops or the Puritans? My anſwer is, that thoſe Puritans were weak men in Old England, and ſtrong in New England, where they out-pop'd the Pope, out-king'd the King, and out-biſhop'd the Biſhops. Their murders and perſecutions prove their ſtrength lay in weakneſs, and their religion in ambition, wealth, and dominion.

Notwithſtanding the perpetual jealouſy and diſcordance between the three colonies of Connecticut, (Saybrook claiming the whole under the Lords Say and Brook,

Hertford under Jehovah and Conqueſt, and Newhaven under King Jeſus and Conqueſt,) they judged it neceſſary, for their better ſecurity againſt the Dutch and Indians, to ſtrengthen each other's hands by forming a general confederacy with the Colonies of New Plymouth and the Maſſachuſets-Bay. A meaſure of this kind, which they formally entered into in 1643, proved of the moſt ſalutary conſequence, in a war which many years after broke out between them and Philip, ſachem of the Pokanoket Indians, and which, for ſome time, imminently endangered the Colonies, but at length terminated in the deſtruction of that noted warrior and his followers.

The death of Cromwell in 1658 ſtruck an awe throughout all New-England. Hertford and Newhaven appointed their days of faſting and prayer. Davenport prayed "the Lord to take the New-Eng-"land Vine under his immediate care,

"as

" as he had removed by death the great " Protector of the proteſtant liberty:" nevertheleſs he lived to ſee the time when Charles II. obtained the poſſeſſion of his Father's crown and kingdom, in ſpite of all his prayers. However, in the midſt of ſorrows, they were comforted by the preſence of many regicides and refugees, who fled from England not ſo much for religion as for liberty; among whom were Whaley, Goffe, and Dixwell*, three of the judges and murderers of Charles I. Davenport and Leet the then Governor received them as Angels from Heaven, and bleſſed God that they had eſcaped out of the hands of " Herod the " ſon of Barabbas."

Newhaven Dominion being thus ſuddenly filled with inhabitants, ſaw itſelf

* *Dixwell* died and lies buried in Newhaven. His grave is viſited by the *ſober diſſenters* with great reverence and veneration; nay, even held ſacred as the tomb at Mecca. Here are buried alſo the children of Colonel Jones, and many other rebels.

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enabled to ſupport its independence, and as uſual deſpiſed Hertford and Saybrook, and withal paid no attention to the King and Parliament of England.—The People of Maſſachuſets, who were ever forward in promoting their own conſequence, obſerving the temper and conduct of thoſe of Newhaven, conceived an idea at once of exalting an individual of their own Province, and of attaching Hertford and Saybrook to their intereſt for ever. They ſent Mr. John Winthrop privately to Hertford, to promote a petition to Charles II. for a charter, as a ſecurity againſt the ambition of Newhaven.—The Boſtonians boaſted of having had the honour of ſettling Hertford, which they therefore profeſſed to conſider in the light of a near and dear connection. The propoſal was accepted by the few perſons to whom it was communicated, but, in framing their petition, they found themſelves deficient in their title to the lands. This obliged

obliged them to have recourſe to a Junto at Saybrook, who claimed a title under Lords Say and Brook. — A few purchaſes, or rather exchanges, of land now took place between the Junto's; after which a petition was drawn up, containing an artful deſcription of the lands claimed, "part of which they ſaid they had purchaſed, and part they had conquered." They then as privately appointed Mr. Winthrop their agent to negociate the buſineſs in England, which he very willingly undertook. On his arrival here, he applied to the agents of Maſſachuſets-Bay, and with their aſſiſtance procured from the incaution of Charles II. as ample a charter as was ever given to a palatinate ſtate; it covered not only Saybrook, Hertford, and Newhaven, but half New-York, New-Jerſey, and Penſylvania, and a tract of land near 100 miles wide, and extending weſtward to the South ſea, 1400 miles from Narraganſet bay.

bay. This Charter, which was obtained in 1662, well pleaſed the people of Hertford, becauſe it coincided with their former vote, viz. "that their dominion extended from ſea to ſea." Newhaven dominion too late diſcovered the intrigues of her artful neighbours; and, after two years oppoſition, ſubmitted to the charter purely out of fear leſt ſome of her miniſters and magiſtrates ſhould ſuffer ignominious deaths for aiding in the murder of their King.

To the great joy of the People of Boſton and Saybrook, Mr. Winthrop was appointed, by the Charter, Governor of all Connecticut. Their joy, however, ſprung from different motives: Saybrook hoped for effectual protection from the inſults of Hertford and the perſecutions of Newhaven; and Boſton expected to govern the Governor.

Mr. Winthrop ſettled at New-London, in the kingdom of Saſſacus, or colony of

of Saybrook, where he purchaſed lands of the claimants under Lords Say and Brook. Wiſdom and moderation guided Mr. Winthrop. He was annually elected Governor till his death, which happened in 1676.

Whether it were owing to the diſcovery of any defect in the title of the People of Connecticut to the ſoil, or of any undue arts practiſed in obtaining their charter, or whether it muſt be conſidered as an inſtance of Charles's fickle or arbitrary diſpoſition, that Monarch, in the ſhort ſpace of two years after granting that charter, comprized half Connecticut in another grant to his brother the Duke of York of the territory between the rivers Connecticut and Delaware, called by the Dutch New Netherlands. This ſtep excited much diſcontent in Connecticut, eſpecially when an actual defalcation of its territory was diſcovered to be in agitation, after Colonel Nichols had

had ſucceeded in an enterprize he was ſent upon againſt the Dutch at New-York. Commiſſioners were ſent thither from Connecticut, the latter end of 1664, to defend the intereſts of the Colony; but, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition they could make, they were conſtrained to yield up the whole of Long-Iſland, and a ſtrip of land on the eaſt ſide of Hudſon's river. This diſmemberment is not eaſily to be juſtified; but, probably, finding it neceſſary to the performance of a promiſe he had made the Dutch of the enjoyment of their poſſeſſions, Nichols might think himſelf at liberty of inſiſting upon it, furniſhed as he was with almoſt regal powers as the Duke of York's deputy. In that capacity, he aſſumed the government of the conquered territory, but does not appear to have intermeddled further with that of Connecticut.

With Colonel Nichols were aſſociated three other gentlemen, in a commiſſion, em-

empowering them to enquire into the ſtate of the New-England provinces, to hear and redreſs complaints, ſettle differences, and check abuſes of power: but the ill humour and obſtinacy of thoſe of Connecticut and Maſſachuſets-Bay, in a great meaſure fruſtrated their endeavours.

By authority of the Charter, the freemen chuſe annually, in May, a Governor, a Deputy-Governor, a Secretary, a Treaſurer, and 12 Aſſiſtants, and, twice a year, two Repreſentatives from each town. Theſe, being met, conſtitute the General Aſſembly, which has power to make laws, provided they are not repugnant to the laws of England, and enforce them without the conſent of the King.

The General Aſſembly meets in May and October without ſummoning. By it the colony has been divided into ſix counties, viz. Hertford, Newhaven, New-London, Fairfield, Windham, and Litchfield;

field; and these subdivided into 73 townships, and 300 parishes

Each town has two or more justices of peace, who hear and determine, without a jury, all causes under 2*l.*

Each county has five judges, who try by a jury all causes above 2*l.*

Five judges preside over the superior court of the province, who hold two sessions in each county every year. To this court are brought appeals from the county courts when the verdict exceeds 10*l.* appeals from the courts of probate, writs of error, petitions for divorce, &c.

The General Assembly is a court of chancery, where the error or rigour of the judgments of the superior court are corrected.

The General Assembly, and not the Governor, has the power of life and death.

The courts of probate are managed by a justice of peace appointed by the General Assembly.

Each

Each county has its Sheriff, and each town its conſtables.

By charter the Governor is Captain-general of the militia. Fourteen Colonels, 14 Lieutenant-Colonels, and 14 Majors, are appointed by the General Aſſembly. The Captains and Subalterns are elected by the People, and commiſſioned by the Governor.

The eccleſiaſtical courts in Connecticut are, 1. The Miniſter and his Communicants: 2. The Aſſociation, which is compoſed of every miniſter and deacon in the county: 3. The Conſociation, which conſiſts of four miniſters and their deacons, choſen from each Aſſociation; and always meets in May, at Hertford, with the General Aſſembly. An appeal from the Conſociation will lie before the General Aſſembly; but the clergy have always been againſt it, though with leſs ſucceſs than they wiſhed.—The General Aſſembly declared "Sober Diſſenters"

to be the eſtabliſhed religion of the province.

The laws of the colony enacted by the authority of the Charter, are decent in compariſon with the Blue Laws. They make one thin volume in folio. Yet exceptions may juſtly be made to many of them—equal liberty is not given to all parties—taxes are unfairly laid—the poor are oppreſſed.—One law is intolerable, viz. When a treſpaſs is committed in the night, the injured perſon may recover damages of any-one he ſhall think proper to accuſe, unleſs the accuſed can prove an alibi, or will clear himſelf by an oath; which oath, nevertheleſs, it is at the option of the juſtice either to adminiſter or refuſe. Queen Ann repealed the cruel laws reſpecting Quakers, Ranters, and Adamites; but the General Aſſembly, notwithſtanding, continued the ſame in their law-book, maintaining that a law made in Connecticut could not be repealed

pealed by any authority but their own. It is a ruled caſe with them, that no law or ſtatute of England be in force in Connecticut, till formally paſſed by the General Aſſembly, and recorded by the Secretary. Above 30 years ago, a negro caſtrated his maſter's ſon, and was brought to trial for it before the Superior Court at Hertford. The Court could find no law to puniſh the negro. The lawyers quoted the Engliſh ſtatute againſt maiming; the Court were of opinion that ſtatute did not reach this colony, becauſe it had not been paſſed in the General Aſſembly; and therefore were about to remand the negro to priſon till the General Aſſembly ſhould meet. But an *ex-poſt-facto* law was objected to as an infringement upon civil liberty. At length, however, the Court were releaſed from their difficulty, by having recourſe to the vote of the firſt ſettlers at Newhaven, viz. That the Bible ſhould be their law, till they could

make others more ſuitable to their circumſtances. The court were of opinion that vote was in full force, as it had not been revoked; and thereupon tried the negro upon the Jewiſh law, viz. Eye for Eye, and Tooth for Tooth. He ſuffered accordingly.

The idea foſtered by the colony of independence on Great Britain, was not, as might be imagined, deſtroyed by the royal charter, but, on the contrary, was renewed and invigorated by it. Indeed, the charter is as much in favour of Connecticut, and unfavourable to England, as if it had been drawn up in Boſton or Newhaven. Had it been granted jointly by the King, Lords, and Commons, and not by the King *ſolus*, no one could diſpute the independence of Connecticut on England, any more than they could that of Holland on Spain. The people at large did not diſcriminate between an act of the King *ſolus*, and an act of the King, Lords,

Lords, and Commons, conjointly; and, to prevent any-one from ſhewing the difference, the General Aſſembly made a law, that "whoever ſhould attempt to deſtroy the conſtitution of this Colony as by charter eſtabliſhed, ſhould ſuffer death." The power of a Britiſh King was held up by them much higher than the conſtitution allowed. The King had authority, they ſaid, to form palatinate ſtates without conſent of Parliament. Accuſtomed to doctrines of this tendency, the multitude concluded the General Aſſembly of Connecticut to be equal to the Britiſh Parliament.

Notions of this kind did not prevail in Connecticut alone; Maſſachuſets-Bay ſtill more abounded with them, and Rhode Iſland was not uninfected. What was the conſequence? Complaints againſt thoſe governments poured into the Britiſh court. A reformation, therefore, became indiſpenſable in New-England, and

was begun by a disfranchiſement of the Maſſachuſets province. The death of Charles II. put a temporary ſtop to proceedings againſt the other colonies; but James II. ſoon found it expedient to renew them. In July, 1685, the following inſtances of mal-adminiſtration were formally exhibited againſt the Governor and Company of Connecticut, viz. "They "have made laws contrary to the laws "of England:—they impoſe fines upon "the inhabitants, and convert them to "their own uſe:—they enfore an oath of "fidelity upon the inhabitants without "adminiſtering the oath of ſupremacy and "allegiance, as in their charter is directed: "they deny to the inhabitants the exer-"ciſe of the religion of the church of "England, arbitrarily fining thoſe who "refuſe to come to their congregational "Aſſemblies:—his Majeſty's ſubjects in-"habiting there, cannot obtain juſtice in "the courts of that colony:—they diſ-

"courage

"courage and exclude the government "all gentlemen of known loyalty, and "keep it in the hands of the independent "party in the colony." (*New-Eng. Ent, vol.* ii. p. 241.) In conſequence of this impeachment, James II. ordered a *Quo Warranto* to be iſſued againſt the Charter of Connecticut. The People perceived the King was in earneſt; and their alarm manifeſted itſelf in humble ſollicitations for favour: but, it being thought adviſeable, on ſeveral accounts, particularly the extenſive progreſs the French were making in Canada, to appoint one general Governor over New-England, the ſubmiſſive applications of the Connecticut coloniſts could no further be regarded than in allowing them their choice, whether to be annexed to New-York, or the Maſſachuſets. They preferred the latter; and, accordingly, Sir Edmund Andros having been appointed Captain-general over all New-England,

the charter of Connecticut was ſurrendered to him. It is very remarkable, that Mr. Neal, Hutchinſon, and other hiſtorians of New-England, have artfully paſſed over in ſilence this tranſaction of the ſurrender of Connecticut Charter to Sir Edmund Andros, the General Governor over New-England. They have repreſented the magiſtrates of Connecticut as not having reſigned their charter, but by an erroneous conſtruction put on their humble ſupplication to James II. by the Court of London; whereas the fact is, they reſigned it, *in propria forma*, into the hands of Sir Edmund Andros, at Hertford, in October, 1687, and were annexed to the Maſſachuſets-Bay colony, in preference to New-York, according to royal promiſe and their own petition. But the very night of the ſurrender of it, Samuel Wadſworth, of Hertford, with the aſſiſtance of a mob, violently broke into the apartments of Sir Edmund, regained,

gained, carried off, and hid the charter in the hollow of an elm; and, in 1689, news arriving of an inſurrection and overthrow of Andros at Boſton, Robert Treat, who had been elected in 1687, was declared by the mob ſtill to be Governor of Connecticut. He daringly ſummoned his old Aſſembly, who, being convened, voted the charter to be valid in law, and that it could not be vacated by any power, without the conſent of the General-Aſſembly. They then voted, that Samuel Wadſworth ſhould bring forth the charter; which he did in a ſolemn proceſſion, attended by the High-ſheriff, and delivered it to the Governor. The General Aſſembly voted their thanks to Wadſworth, and twenty ſhillings as a reward for *ſtealing* and hiding their charter in the elm. Thus Connecticut ſtarted from a dependent county into an independent province, in defiance of the authority that had lately been paid ſuch humble ſub-

ſubmiſſion. None ſhould be ſurprized to find the People ſhewing more deference to Abimeleck King of Mohegin, than to George King of England; ſince a vote of men, whoſe legiſlative and even corporate capacity had been annihilated, has prevailed, for more than eighty years, over a juſt exertion of royal prerogative. Nevertheleſs, this unconſtitutional Aſſembly, whoſe authority under an aſſumed charter has been tacitly acknowledged by the Britiſh Parliament, have not at all times been unchecked by the Corporation of Yale College. That College, by a charter received from this ſelf-erected Government, was enabled to give Bachelors and Maſters degrees; but the Corporation have preſumed to give Doctors degrees. When the General Aſſembly accuſed them of uſurping a privilege not conferred by their charter, they retorted, that "to uſurp upon a charter, "was not ſo bad as to uſurp a vacated "charter,"

"charter." The General Aſſembly were obliged to be content with this anſwer, as it contained much truth, and came from the clergy, whoſe ambition and power are not to be trifled with.

Whatever might be the reaſon of the Engliſh Government's winking at the contempt ſhewn to their authority by the people of Connecticut, it certainly added to their ingratitude and bias to uſurpation. Having been in poſſeſſion of that country one-hundred and forty years, the General Aſſembly, though unſupported either by law or juſtice, reſolved to take up and ſettle their lands weſt not only of Hudſon but Suſquehanna river, and extending to the South-Sea. In purſuance of this reſolution, they with modeſty paſſed over New-York, and the Jerſeys, becauſe they are poſſeſſed by Mynheers and fighting chriſtians, and ſeized on Penſylvania, claimed by Quakers, who fight not for either wife or daughter.

They

They filled up their fathers iniquities, by murdering the Quakers and Indians, and taking poſſeſſion of their lands; and no doubt, in another century, they will produce deeds of ſale from Sunkſquaw, Uncas, or ſome other ſuppoſititious Sachem. This is a ſtriking inſtance of the uſe I have ſaid the Colony ſometimes make of their charter, to countenance and ſupport their adventurous ſpirit of enterprize. They plead that their charter bounds them on the weſt by the South-Sea; but they ſeem to have forgotten that their charter was ſurreptitiouſly obtained; and that the clauſe on which they dwell is rendered nugatory, by the petitioners having deſcribed their lands as lying upon Connecticut river, and obtained partly by purchaſe and partly by conqueſt. Now, it being a fact beyond all controverſy, that they then had not conquered, nor even pretended to have purchaſed, any lands weſt of Hudſon's-River, it is evi-

dent

dent that their weſternmoſt boundary never did or ought to extend further than to that river. Not that Mr. Pen has any juſt title to thoſe lands on Suſquehanna river which are the bone of contention, and which lie north of his patent: they belong to the aſſigns of the Plymouth Company, or to the Crown of England.

Republicaniſm, ſchiſms, and perſecutions, have ever prevailed in this Colony. —The religion of "*Sober Diſſenters*" having been eſtabliſhed by the General Aſſembly, each ſect claimed the eſtabliſhment in its favour. The true Independents denied that the Aſſembly had any further power over Chriſt's Church than to protect it. Few Magiſtrates of any religion are willing to yield their authority to Eccleſiaſtics; and few diſciples of Luther or Calvin are willing to obey either civil or ſpiritual maſters. In a Colony where the people are thus diſpoſed, dominion will be religion, and faction conſcience.

ſcience. Hence aroſe contentions between the Aſſembly and Independents; and both parties having been brought up under Cromwell, their battles were well fought. The independent Miniſters publiſhed, from their pulpits, that the Aſſembly played off one ſect againſt another; and that Civilians were equal enemies to all parties, and acted more for their own intereſt than the glory of God. Thoſe ſpiritual warriors, by their Aſſociations, faſting and prayers, voted themſelves the "*Sober Diſſenters*," and got the better of the General Aſſembly. Indeed, none diſputed their vote with impunity. Whenever a Governor manifeſted an inclination to govern Chriſt's Miniſters, Chriſt's Miniſters were ſure to inſtruct the freemen not to re-elect him. The Magiſtrates declared they had rather be under Lords-Biſhops than Lords-Aſſociations. A Governor was appointed, who determined to reduce Chriſt's Miniſters under the

the Civil Power; and, accordingly, the Aſſembly ſent their Sheriff to bring before them certain leading men among the Miniſters, of whom they baniſhed ſome, ſilenced others, and fined many, for preaching ſedition. The Miniſters told the Aſſembly, that curſt cows had ſhort horns; and that "they were *Prieſts for ever* "*after the order of Melchiſedec.*" However, like good chriſtians, they ſubmitted to the ſentence of the Aſſembly; went home, faſted, and prayed, until the Lord pointed out a perfect cure for all their ſufferings. On the day of election, they told the freemen that the Lord's cauſe required a man of Grace to ſtand at the head of the Colony, and with ſure confidence recommended the Moderator of the Aſſociation to be their Governor; and the Moderator was choſen. This event greatly inflamed the lay-magiſtrates, who were further mortified to ſee Miniſters among the Repreſentatives; whereupon they

they cried out, "This is a preſbyterian popedom." Now Magiſtrates joined with other Churches which they had long perſecuted; and the Connecticut Vine was rent more and more every day. The Miniſters kept the power, but not always the office, of the Governor, whilſt the weaker party paid the coſt. One party was called Old Light, the other New Light: both aimed at power under pretence of religion; which-ever got the power, the other was perſecuted. By this happy quarrel, the various ſectarians were freed from their perſecutions; becauſe each contending party courted their votes and intereſt, to help to pull down its adverſary. This has been the religious-political free ſyſtem and practice of Connecticut ſince 1662.

In ſpeaking of the religious phrenzies and perſecutions in Connecticut under the ſanction of the charter, I muſt notice the words of an eminent Quaker, who, as a blaſphemer,

blaſphemer, had been whipped, branded, burnt in the tongue, ſet on the gallows, baniſhed, and, upon return, ſentenced to be hanged. "Doſt thee not think," ſaid he to his Judges, "that the Jews, "who crucified the Saviour of the World, "had a *Charter?*"

Many have been the diſputes between Connecticut and the neighbouring Colonies concerning their ſeveral boundaries, and much blood has been ſpilt on thoſe occaſions. On the north and eaſt, where lie the Maſſachuſets and Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut has, in ſome degree, been the gainer; but has loſt conſiderably on the weſt and ſouth, to the engendering violent animoſity againſt the *loyal* New-Yorkers, to whom it will probably prove fatal in the end. The detail is briefly as follows:

The Dutch ſettlers on New-York Iſland, Hudſon's river, and the weſt end of Long Iſland, being ſubdued by Colonel

Nichols in September, 1664, the royal Commiſſioners, after hearing the Deputies from Connecticut in ſupport of the charter granted to that province againſt the Duke of York's patent, ordered, in December following, that Long-Iſland ſhould be annexed to the government of New-York, and that the Weſt boundary of Connecticut ſhould be a line drawn from the mouth of Mamaroneck river north-north-weſt to the line of the Maſſachuſets. This ſettlement, although it infringed their charter, was peaceably acquieſced in by the people of Connecticut; and not complained of by thoſe of New-York till 1683, when they ſet up a claim founded upon a Dutch grant, *ſaid* to be made in 1621, of all the lands from Cape Cod to Cape Henlopen. In furtherance of their pretenſions, they had recourſe to invaſion and ſlander. Of the latter Mr. Smith has given a ſpecimen in his Hiſtory of New-York, where He ſays that the agreement

agreement in 1664 " was founded in igno-
" rance and fraud ;" becauſe, forſooth,
" a north-north-weſt line from Mamaro-
" neck would ſoon interſect Hudſon's
" river !" Could any one of common-ſenſe ſuppoſe the Dutch on the banks of Hudſon's river, who no doubt were conſulted upon the occaſion, leſs acquainted with the courſe of it, than perſons reſiding on the banks of the Connecticut? Extraordinarily abſurd as ſuch an inſinuation might be, the people of Connecticut were aware of its probable weight with the Duke of York, whoſe patent graſped half their country ; and therefore, knowing by whom a conteſt muſt be decided, they conſented to give up twenty miles of their land eaſt of Hudſon's river, hoping that would content a company of time-ſerving Jacobites and artful Dutchmen. But neither were they nor their Patron ſatisfied ; and the agreement was ſuſpended till 1700, when it was con-

firmed by William III. About twenty years afterwards, however, the New-Yorkers thought the times favourable to further encroachments; and at length, in 1731, they gained 60,000 acres more, called the Oblong, from Connecticut, purely becauſe they had Dutch conſciences, and for once reported in England what was true, that the New-England coloniſts hated Kings, whether natives or foreigners. Mr. Smith, indeed, p. 238, ſays, referring to Douglas's * Plan of the Britiſh Dominions

* Dr. Douglas was a naturaliſt, and a phyſician of conſiderable eminence in Boſton, where he never attended any religious worſhip, having been educated in Scotland with ſuch rancorous hatred againſt epiſcopacy, that, with his age, it ripened into open ſcepticiſm and deiſm. However, his many ſeverities againſt the Epiſcopalians, New Lights, and Quakers, procured him a good name among the Old Lights, and the mongrel chriſtians of New-York, whoſe policy and ſelf-intereſt have always domineered over conſcience and morality. For theſe reaſons, his brother Smith, in his Hiſtory of New-York, frequently quotes him, to prove his futile aſſertions againſt New-England, New-Jerſey, and Penſylvania.

of

of New-England in ſupport of his aſſertion, that "Connecticut ceeded theſe "60,000 acres to New York, as an *equi*-"*valent* for lands near the Sound *ſurren*-"*dered* to Connecticut by New-York." Mr. Smith, and all the New-York cabal, know, that there never were any lands in the poſſeſſion of the New-Yorkers *ſurrendered* to Connecticut: on the contrary, Connecticut was forced, by the partiality of ſovereigns, to give up, not only Long Iſland and the above-mentioned twenty miles eaſt of Hudſon's river, but alſo the Oblong, without any equivavalent. How New-York could ſurrender lands and tenements which they never had any right to or poſſeſſion of, is only to be explained thus: whereas the people of New-York did not extend their eaſtern boundary to Connecticut river, they therefore *ſurrendered* to Connecticut what they never had; which is like a highwayman's ſaying to a Gentleman, Give me ten gui-

neas, and I will *ſurrender* to you your watch in your pocket.

Thus by degrees has Connecticut loſt a tract of land ſixty miles in length and above twenty in breadth, together with the whole of Long Iſland; and this in the firſt place by a ſtretch of royal prerogative, and afterwards by the chicanery of their competitors, who have broken through all agreements as often as a temporiſing conduct ſeemed to promiſe them ſucceſs. Whenever, therefore, a favourable opportunity preſents itſelf, there is no doubt, but Meſſrs. Smith and Livingſton, and other pateroons in New-York, will find the laſt determination alſo to have been "founded in ignorance and fraud," and will be puſhing their claim to all the lands weſt of Connecticut river; but the opportunity muſt be favourable indeed, that allows them to encroach one foot farther with impunity.

Another ſtroke the people of Connecticut

necticut received about 1753 has ſorely galled them ever ſince, and contributed not a little to their thirſt of revenge. The Governor of New-York was then appointed "Captain-General and Com-"mander in Chief of the militia, and "all the forces by ſea and land, within "the Colony of Connecticut, and of all "the forts and places of ſtrength within "the ſame." This violation of the Charter of Connecticut by George II. was very extraordinary, as the reins of Government were then in the hands of proteſtant diſſenters, whoſe *ſuppoſed* veneration for the Houſe of Hanover operated ſo powerfully, that the American proteſtant diſſenting miniſters were allowed to be inſtalled teachers, and to hold ſynods, without taking the oath of allegiance to the Engliſh King, at the ſame time that papiſts, and even members of the Church of England, were not excuſed that obligation. The aggravat-

ing appointment above mentioned added no celebrity to the name of George II. in New-England; nor, however excuſable it may appear in the eyes of thoſe who with me queſtion the colonial pretenſions of the people of Connecticut, was it, upon the ground they have been allowed to ſtand by the Engliſh government, juſtifiable in point of right, nor yet in point of policy, were the true character of the New-Yorkers fully known. This argument may be uſed on more occaſions than the preſent.

But Connecticut hath not been the only ſufferer from the reſtleſs ambition of New-York. Twenty miles depth of land belonging to the Maſſachuſets and Newhampſhire provinces, which formerly claimed to Hudſon's river, were cut off by the line that deprived Connecticut of the ſame proportion of its weſtern territory. With this acquiſition, ſurely, the New Yorkers might have been

been content; but very lately their *wiſdom*, if not their "fraud," has prevailed over the "ignorance" of Newhampſhire; which has ſuſtained another amputation of its territory, eighty miles in width and two hundred miles in length; viz. all the land between the above mentioned twenty-mile line and Connecticut river. The particulars of this tranſaction are intereſting. Benning Wentworth, Eſq. Governor of Newhampſhire, by order of his preſent Majeſty, divided, in 1762, the vaſt tract of land juſt mentioned into about 360 townſhips, ſix miles ſquare each. Theſe townſhips he granted to proprietors belonging to the four provinces of New England, one townſhip to ſixty proprietors; and took his fees for the ſame, according to royal appointment. Every townſhip was, in twelve years time, to have ſixty families reſiding in it. In 1769 there were ſettled on this piece of land 30,000 ſouls, at a very great expence;

pence; and many townſhips contained 100 families. The New-Yorkers found means to deceive the King, and obtained a decree that the Eaſt boundary of New York, after paſſing Connecticut and Maſſachuſets-Bay, ſhould be Connecticut river *. This decree annexed to the juriſdiction of New-York the ſaid 360 townſhips; but was quietly ſubmitted to by the proprietors, ſince it was his Majeſty's will to put them under the juriſdiction of New-York, tho' they found themſelves 150 miles farther from their new capital New-York, than they were from Portſmouth, their old one. Had the New-Yorkers reſted ſatisfied with the juriſdiction, which alone the King

* Perhaps their ſucceſs was facilitated by the conſideration, that the quit-rent payable to the Crown in New-York is 2s. 6d. per 100 acres, but only 9d. in Newhampſhire. The ſame may be ſaid, with ſtill more reaſon, in regard to the lands acquired by New-York from Maſſachuſets-Bay and Connecticut, where the quit-rent is——nothing.

had

had given them, they might have enjoyed their acquiſition in peace; and New-England would have thought they had poſſeſſed ſome juſtice, though deſtitute of religious zeal. But the Governor and General Aſſembly of New York, finding their intereſt in Old-England ſtronger than the intereſt of the New-Englanders, determined at once, that, as the King had given them juriſdiction over thoſe 360 townſhips, he had alſo given them the lands in fee ſimple. Sir Henry More, the Governor, therefore, in 1767, began the laudable work of regranting thoſe townſhips to ſuch people as lived in New-York, and were willing to pay him 600l. York currency for his valuable name to each patent. It is remarkable that Sir Harry made every *lawyer* in the whole province a patentee; but totally *forgot* the four public lots, viz. that for the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel, thoſe for the church, the firſt clergyman, and ſchool

ſchool in each townſhip, which had been reſerved in Governor Wentworth's grants. Death ſtopped his career; but Colden, the Lieutenant-Governor, filled up the meaſure of his iniquity, by granting all the reſt on the ſame conditions. Sir Henry More had taken care to grant to his dear ſelf one townſhip, ſettled with above 80 families, before he died. Colden did the ſame for himſelf. The virtuous William Smith, Eſq; of New-York, had a townſhip alſo; and Sir Henry More left him his executor to drive off the New-England ſettlers. This, however, he attempted in vain. The polite New-Yorkers, having the juriſdiction, betook themſelves to law, to get poſſeſſion of the lands in queſtion, which they called their own; and ſent the poſſe of Albany to eject the poſſeſſors; but this mighty power was anſwered by Ethan Allen, and the old proprietors under Governor Wentworth, who was a King's Governor as well as

Sir

Sir Henry More :---the Mynheers of Albany were glad to have liberty to return home alive.—See here the origin of Ethan Allen!—of the Verdmonts, and the Robbers of the Green Mountains; a compliment paid by the New-Yorkers to the ſettlers under Governor Wentworth;—who, on that amiable gentleman's death, had no friend of note left in England, and were therefore under the neceſſity of defending themſelves, or becoming tenants to a ſet of people who neither *feared God* nor *honoured the King*, but when they got ſomething by it.—The New-Yorkers had the grace, after this, to outlaw Ethan Allen, which rendered him of conſequence in New England; and it would not ſurprize me to hear that New-York, Albany, and all that the Dutchmen poſſeſs in houſes eaſt of Hudſon's River, were conſumed by fire, and the inhabitants ſent to Heaven, in the ſtyle of Dr. Mather, by the way of Amſterdam. I

muſt

muſt do the New-Englanders the juſtice to ſay, that, though they eſteem not highly Kings or Lords, yet they never complained againſt his Majeſty for what was done reſpecting Verdmont; on the contrary, they ever ſaid the King would reverſe the obnoxious decree, whenever he ſhould be acquainted with the truth of the caſe, which the New-Yorkers artfully concealed from his knowledge.—There are in the four New-England provinces near 800,000 ſouls, and very few unconnected with the ſettlements on Verdmont; the property of which was duly veſted in them by Wentworth, the King's Governor, whoſe predeceſſors and himſelf had juriſdiction over it alſo for 106 years. They ſay, what is very legal and juſt, that his Majeſty had a right to annex Verdmont to the government of New-York, but could not give the fee of the land, becauſe he had before given it to the New-Englanders. It appears very unlikely that

thoſe hardy ſons of Oliver will ever give up Verdmont to the New-Yorkers by the order of Sir Henry More, or any other Governor, till compelled by the point of the ſword. The Mynheers have more to fear than the New-Englanders, who will never yield to Dutch virtue. Van Tromp was brave; Oliver was brave and ſucceſsful too.

Mather, Neal, and Hutchinſon, repreſent religion to have been the cauſe of the firſt ſettlement of New-England; and the love of gold as the ſtimulus of the Spaniards in ſettling their colonies in the ſouthern parts of America; but, if we ſhould credit the Spaniſh hiſtorians, we muſt believe that their countrymen were as much influenced by religion in their colonial purſuits as were our own. However, in general, it may be ſaid, that the conduct of both parties towards the aborigines diſcovered no principles but what were diſgraceful to human nature.

Murder,

Murder, plunder, and outrage, were the means made uſe of to convert the benighted ſavages of the wilderneſs to the ſyſtem of Him "who went about doing "good." If we may depend on Abbé Nicolle, the Spaniards killed of the Aytis, or the ſavage nations, in the Iſland of Hiſpaniola, 3,000,000 in ſeventeen years; 600,000 in Porto Rico, and twenty times theſe numbers on the continent of South-America, in order to propagate the Goſpel in a ſavage and howling wilderneſs! The Engliſh coloniſts have been as induſtrious in ſpreading the Goſpel in the howling wilderneſs of North America. Upwards of 180,000 Indians, at leaſt, have been ſlaughtered in Maſſachuſets-Bay and Connecticut *, to make way for the

* In 1680, the number of Indians, or aborigines, in the whole Province of Connecticut, was 4000. This was allowed by the General Aſſembly. How much greater their number was in 1637, may be eſtimated from the accounts given by Dr. Mather, Mr.

the proteſtant religion; and, upon a moderate computation for the reſt of the Colonies on the Continent and Weſt-India Iſlands, I think one may venture to aſſert, that near 2,000,000 ſavages have been diſmiſſed from an unpleaſant world to

Mr. Neal, Mr. Penhallow, and Mr. Hutchinſon, of the deaths of Engliſhmen in the Indian wars for the ſpace of forty-three years. It has been computed, that, from 1637 to 1680, upon an average, 100 Engliſhmen were killed yearly in thoſe wars, and that there were killed, with the ſword, gun, and ſmall-pox, 20 Indians for one Engliſhman. If this calculation is juſt, it appears that the Engliſh killed of the Indians, during the above-mentioned period, 86000; to which number the 4000 Indians remaining in 1680 being added, it is clear that there were 90,000 Indians in Connecticut when Hooker began his holy war upon them: not to form conjectures upon thoſe who probably afterwards abandoned the country. This evinces the weakneſs of the Indian mode of fighting with bows and arrows againſt guns, and the impropriety of calling Connecticut an *howling wilderneſs* in 1636, when Hooker arrived at Hertford. The Engliſh in 136 years have not much more than doubled the number of Indians they killed in 43 years. In 1770 the number of Indians in Connecticut amounted not to 400 ſouls.

the world of ſpirits, for the honour of the proteſtant religion and Engliſh liberty. Nevertheleſs, having travelled over moſt parts of Britiſh America, I am able to declare, with great ſincerity, that this mode of converting the native Indians is godlike in compariſon with that adopted for the Africans. Theſe miſerable people are firſt kidnapped, then *put under ſaws, harrows and axes of iron, and forced thro' the brick-kiln to Molock.* Near half a million of them are doomed to hug their miſery in ignorance, nakedneſs, and hunger, among their maſters upper ſervants in Georgia, the Carolina's, Virginia, and Maryland. The number of theſe wretches upon the continent and iſlands is ſcarce credible; above 100,000 in Jamaica alone; all toiling for the tyrant's pleaſure; none ſeeking other happineſs than to be ſkreened from the torture rendered neceſſary by that curious American maxim, that men muſt be *willing*

ing to die before they are *fit for the Kingdom of Heaven.* However, what Muſſulman, African, or American, would not prefer the ſtate of a chriſtian *maſter*, who *dreads death above all things*, to the ſtate of thoſe chriſtian *converts?* Chriſtianity has been curſed through the inſincerity of its profeſſors; even ſavages deſpiſe its precepts, becauſe they have no influence on chriſtians themſelves. Whatever religious pretences the Spaniards, French, or Engliſh, may plead for depopulating and repeopling America, it is pretty clear, that the deſire of gold and dominion was no impotent inſtigation with them to ſeek the weſtern continent. The Britiſh leaders in the ſcheme of emigration had felt the humiliating effects of the feudal ſyſtem; particularly the partial diſtribution of fortunes and honours among children of the ſame venter in the mother country. They had ſeen that this inequality produced inſolence and oppreſſion, which awakened the ſentiments of independence

and liberty, the inſtincts of every man. Nature then kindled war againſt the oppreſſors, and the oppreſſors appealed to preſcription. The event was, Infelicity began her reign. Both parties invoked Religion, but proſtrated themſelves before the inſidious ſhrine of Superſtition, the life of civil government, and the ſinews of war; that expiates crimes by prayers, uſes ceremonies for good works, eſteems devotion more than virtue, ſupports religion without probity, values honeſty leſs than honour, generates happineſs without morality, and is a glorious helmet to the ambitious. They inliſted vaſſals with her bounty, to fight, burn, and deſtroy, one another, for the ſake of religion. Behold the ſequel! The vaſſals ſecured to themſelves more than Egyptian maſters and laws, both in the elder and younger brothers; yet, after all, Superſtition told them they enjoyed liberty and the rights of human nature. Happy deception! The Spartan Magnotes, tribu-

tributary to the Turks, are jealous of their liberties; while the American Canſez, near Lake Superior, enjoy liberty compleat without jealouſy. Among the latter, the conſcious independence of each individual warms his thoughts and guides his actions. He enters the ſachemic dome with the ſame ſimple freedom as he enters the wigwam of his brother; neither dazzled at the ſplendor, nor awed by the power, of the poſſeſſor. Here is liberty in perfection! What *Chriſtian* would wiſh to travel 4000 miles to rob an unoffending ſavage of what he holds by the law of nature? That is not the Gold or Dominion that any *Chriſtian* ever ſought for. The firſt ſettlers of America had views very different from thoſe of making it a *chriſtian* country: their grand aim was to get free from the inſolence of their elder brethren, and to aggrandize themſelves in a new world, at the expence of the life, liberty, and

property, of the ſavages. Had the invaders of New-England ſown the ſeeds of *chriſtian* benevolence, even after they had eradicated the ſavages and ſavage virtues, the world would not have reproached them for cheriſhing that all-graſping ſpirit in themſelves, which in others had driven them from their parent country: but the feudal ſyſtem, which they conſidered as an abominable vice in England, became a ſhining virtue on the other ſide of the Atlantic, and would have prevailed there, had the People been as blind and tame in worldly, as they were in ſpiritual concerns. But they had too long heard their leaders declaim againſt the monopoly of lands and titles, not to diſcover that they themſelves were men, and entitled to the rights of that race of beings: and they proceeded upon the ſame maxims, which they found alſo among the Indians, viz. that mankind are, by nature, upon an equality in point of rank

rank and poſſeſſion; that it is incompatible with freedom for any particular deſcriptions of men ſyſtematically to monopolize honours and property, to the excluſion of the reſt; that it was a part deſpicable and unworthy of one freeman to ſtoop to the will and caprice of another, on account of his wealth and titles, accruing not from his own, but from the heroiſm and virtue of his anceſtors, &c. &c. The *vox populi* eſtabliſhed theſe maxims in New-England; and whoever did not, at leaſt, outwardly conform to them, were not choſen into office; nay, though not objectible on that ſcore, men very ſeldom met with re-appointments, leſt they ſhould claim them by hereditary right. Thus, the levelling principle prevailing, equals were reſpected, and ſuperiors derided. Europeans, whoſe manners were haughty to inferiors and fawning to ſuperiors, were neither loved nor eſteemed. Hence an Engliſh traveller

through Connecticut meets with ſupercilious treatment at all taverns, as being too much addicted to the uſe of the Imperative Mood, when ſpeaking to the landlord. The anſwer is, "Command your own ſervants, and not me." The traveller is not obeyed; which provokes him to ſome expreſſions that are not legal in the colony, about the *impertinence* of the landlord, who being commonly a juſtice of the peace, the delinquent is immediately ordered into cuſtody, fined, or put into the ſtocks. However, after paying coſts, and promiſing to behave well in future, he paſſes on with more attention to his "unruly member" than to his pleaſures. Nevertheleſs, if a traveller ſoftens his tone, and avoids the Imperative Mood, he will find every civility from thoſe very people, whoſe natural tempers are full of antipathy againſt all who affect ſuperiority over them. This principle is, by long cuſtom, blended with

with the religious doctrines of the province; and the people believe thoſe to be heretics and Arminians who aſſent not to their ſupremacy. Hence they conſider kingly Governors as the ſhort horns of antichriſt, and every Colony in a ſtate of perſecution which cannot chuſe its own Governor and Magiſtrates. Their averſion to New-York is inconceivably great on this account, as well as others I have mentioned. Their jealouſies and fears of coming under its juriſdiction make them heroes in the cauſe of liberty, and great inquiſitors into the characters and conduct of all kingly Governors. They have ſelected Mr. Tryon as the only Engliſh Governor who has acted with juſtice and generoſity in reſpect to the rights, liberties, and feelings, of mankind, while, they ſay, avarice, plunder, and oppreſſion, have marked the footſteps of all the reſt. This character Mr. Tryon poſſeſſed even after he had ſubdued the Regulators in North-

North-Carolina and was appointed Governor of New-York. Some perſons aſſert, indeed, that he ſecured the good-will of Connecticut, by recommending, in England, the *Livingſton's*, *Schuyler's*, and *Smith's*, as the beſt ſubjects in New-York. However, Mr. Tryon was undoubtedly entitled to good report: he was humane and polite: to him the injured had acceſs without a fee: he would hear the poor man's complaint, though it wanted the aid of a poliſhed lawyer. Beſides, Mr. Tryon did not think it beneath him to ſpeak to a peaſant in the ſtreet, or to ſtop his coach to give people an opportunity to let him paſs. His object was not to make his fortune, nor did he neglect the intereſt of the people. He embelliſhed not his language with oaths and curſes, nor ſpent the Sabbath at taverns. 'Tis true, Mr. Tryon went not to meeting; but he was forgiven this offence, becauſe he went to church: the people of New-England having

having ſo much candour as to believe a man may be *a good ſort of a man*, if he goes to church, and is exemplary in his words and deeds. I have not the honour of being known to Mr. Tryon, but, from what I know of him, I muſt ſay, without meaning to offend any other, that he was the beſt Governor and the moſt pleaſing gentleman that I ever ſaw in a civil capacity in America; and that I cannot name any Briton ſo well calculated to govern in Connecticut, with eaſe and ſafety to himſelf, as he is. One reaſon for this aſſertion is, that Mr. Tryon has a punctilious regard for his word; a quality, which, tho' treachery is the ſtaple commodity of the four New-England Provinces, the people greatly admire in a Governor, and which, they ſay, they have ſeldom found in royal Governors in America. ——But whither am I wandering? I beg pardon for this digreſſion, though in favour of ſo worthy a man.

Of

Of the ſhare Connecticut has taken, in common with her ſiſter colonies, in co-operating with the Mother-country againſt her natural enemies, it is ſuperfluous to ſay any-thing here, that being already ſufficiently known. I ſhall therefore proceed to a deſcription of the country, its towns, productions, &c. together with the manners, cuſtoms, commerce, &c. of the inhabitants, interſperſing ſuch hiſtorical and biographical anecdotes, as may occur to me in the relation, and have a tendency to elucidate matter of fact, or characterize the people.

The dimenſions of Connecticut, according to its preſent allowed extent, are, from the Sound, on the ſouth, to the Maſſachuſets line, on the north, about ſixty miles; and from Biram river and New-York line, on the weſt, to Narraganſet Bay, Rhode-Iſland, and Maſſachuſets-Bay, on the eaſt, upon an average, about 100 miles,

miles. It is computed to contain 5,000,000 acres.

Many creeks, inlets, bays, and rivers interſect the coaſt. Three of the laſt, dividing the colony into as many parts, I ſhall particularly notice. They all run from north to ſouth.

The eaſtern river is called the Thames as far as it is navigable, which is only to Norwich, 14 miles from its mouth. There dividing, the greateſt branch, called Quinnibaug, rolls rapidly from its ſource 100 miles diſtant though many towns and villages, to their great pleaſantneſs and profit. On it are many mills and iron-works; and in it various kinds of fiſh; but no ſalmon, for want of proper places to nouriſh their ſpawn.

The middle river is named Connecticut, after the great Sachem to whom that part of the province through which it runs belonged. This vaſt river is 500 miles long, and four miles wide at its mouth:

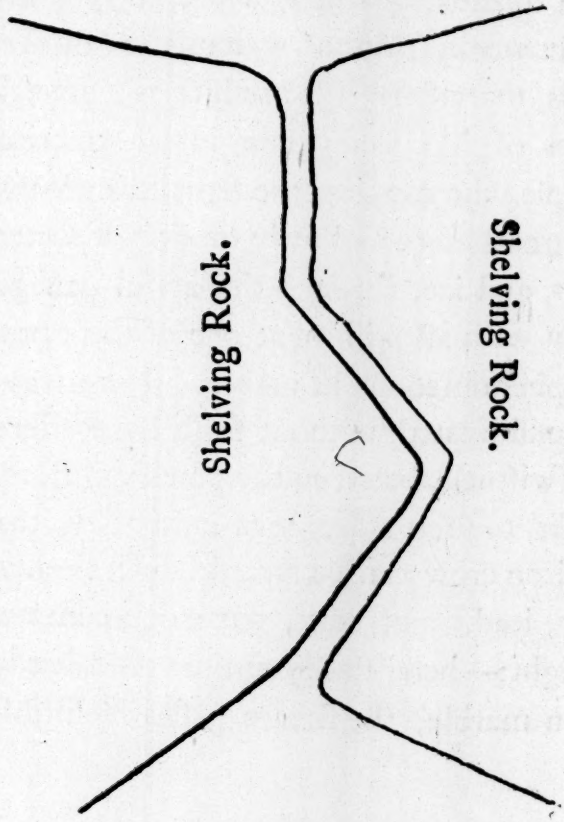
mouth : its channel, or inner banks, in general, half a mile wide. It takes its riſe from the White Hills, in the north of New-England, where alſo ſprings the river Kennebec. Above 500 rivulets, which iſſue from lakes, ponds, and drowned lands, fall into it : many of them are larger than the Thames at London. In March, when the rain and ſun melt the ſnow and ice, each ſtream is overcharged, and kindly haſtens to this great river, to overflow, fertiliſe, and preſerve its trembling meadows. They lift up enormous cakes of ice, burſting from their frozen beds with threatening intentions of plowing up the frighted earth, and carry them rapidly down the falls, where they are daſhed in pieces and riſe in miſt. Except at theſe falls, of which there are five, the firſt ſixty miles from its mouth, the river is navigable throughout. In its northern parts are 3 great bendings, called cohoſſes, about 100 miles aſunder.

Two

Two hundred miles from the Sound is a narrow of five yards only, formed by two ſhelving mountains of ſolid rock, whoſe tops intercept the clouds. Thro'this chaſm are compelled to paſs all the waters which in the time of the floods bury the northern country. At the upper cohos the river then ſpreads 24 miles wide, and for five or ſix weeks ſhips of war might ſail over lands, that afterwards produce the greateſt crops of hay and grain in all America. People who can bear the ſight, the groans, the tremblings, and ſurly motion of water, trees, and ice, through this awful paſſage, view with aſtoniſhment one of the greateſt phenomenons in nature. Here water is conſolidated, without froſt, by preſſure, by ſwiftneſs, between the pinching, ſturdy rocks, to ſuch a degree of induration, that no iron crow can be forced into it:—here iron, lead, and cork, have one common weight:—here, ſteady as time, and harder than marble, the ſtream paſſes irreſiſtible,

if

if not ſwift, as lightning:—the electric fire rends trees in pieces with no greater eaſe, than does this mighty water. The paſſage is about 400 yards in length, and of a zigzag form, with obtuſe corners. The following repreſentation will aſſiſt the reader in forming an idea of it.



At high water are carried through this ſtraight maſts and other timber with incredible ſwiftneſs, and ſometimes with ſafety; but when the water is too low, the maſts, timber, and trees, ſtrike on one ſide or the other, and, though of the largeſt ſize, are rent, in one moment, into ſhivers, and ſplintered like a broom, to the amazement of ſpectators. The meadows, for many miles below, are covered with immenſe quantities of wood thus torn in pieces, which compel the hardieſt travellers to reflect, how feeble is man, and how great that Almighty who formed the lightnings, thunders, and the irreſiſtible power and ſtrength of waters!

No living creature was ever known to paſs through this narrow, except an Indian woman, who was, in a canoe, attempting to croſs the river above it, but careleſsly ſuffered herſelf to fall within the power of the current. Perceiving her danger, ſhe took a bottle of rum ſhe had with

her, and drank the whole of it; then lay down in her canoe, to meet her deſtiny. She marvellouſly went through ſafely, and was taken out of the canoe ſome miles below, quite intoxicated, by ſome Engliſhmen. Being aſked how ſhe could be ſo daringly imprudent as to drink ſuch a quantity of rum with the proſpect of inſtant death before her, the ſquaw, as well as her condition would let her, replied, "Yes, it was too much rum for "once, to be ſure; but I was not willing "to loſe a drop of it: ſo I drank it, and "you ſee I have ſaved all."

Some perſons aſſert that ſalmon have been caught above this narrow, while others deny it. Many have obſerved ſalmon attempt to paſs in the time of floods, which certainly is the beſt and likelieſt time, as, from the height of the water, and the ſhelving of the rocks, the paſſage is then broader; but they were always thrown back, and generally killed. It is not to be

ſuppoſed

ſuppoſed that any fiſh could paſs with the ſtream alive. Above this narrow there is plenty of fiſh both in ſummer and winter, which belong to the lakes or ponds that communicate with the river: below it are the greateſt abundance and variety caught or known in North America. No ſalmon are found in any river to the weſtward of this.

Except the Miſſiſippi and St. Laurence, the Connecticut is the largeſt river belonging to the Engliſh plantations in the New World. On each ſhore of it are two great roads leading from the mouth 200 miles up the country, lined on both ſides with the beſt-built houſes in America, if not in the world. It is computed, that the country on each bank of this river, to a depth of ſix miles, and a length of 300, is ſufficient for the maintenance of an army of 100,000 men. In ſhort, the neighbouring ſpacious and fertile meadow, arable, and other lands,

combined with this noble river, are at once the beauty and main ſupport of all New-England.

The weſtern river is navigable and called Stratford only for ten miles, where Derby ſtands; and then takes the name of Oſootonoc. It is 50 miles weſt from Connecticut river, and half a mile wide. It riſes in the Verdmonts, above 200 miles from the ſea, and travels 300 miles through many pleaſant towns and villages. The adjacent meadows are narrow, and the country in general very hilly. With ſome expence it might be made navigable above 100 miles. It furniſhes fiſh of various kinds, and ſerves many mills and iron-works.

Two principal bays, named Saſſacus or New-London, and Quinnipiog or New-haven, run five or ſix miles into the country, and are met by rivers which formerly bore the Sachems names.

It has already been obſerved, that Connecticut

necticut was ſettled under three diſtinct independent Governors; and that each Dominion, ſince their union in 1664, has been divided into two counties.

The KINGDOM OF SASSACUS, Sachem of the Pequods, a warlike nation, forms the counties of New-London and Windham, which contain about 10,000 houſes, and 60,000 inhabitants. Saſſacus was brave by nature. The ſound of his coming would ſubdue nations, at the ſame time that Juſtice would unbend his bow, and Honour calm the thunder of his tongue. Dr. Mather, Mr. Neal, and others, have endeavoured to blaſt his fame by proving him to have been the aggreſſor in the bloody wars which ended in his ruin. They have inſtanced the murder of Captain Stone and others, to juſtify this war, but carefully concealed the aſſaſſination of Quinnipiog, the treachery of Mr. Elliot (the Maſſachuſets-Bay Apoſtle of the Indians), and the in-

famous villainy of Hooker, who ſpread death upon the leaves of his Bible, and ſtruck Connecticote mad with diſeaſe. They alſo conceal another important truth, that the Engliſh had taken poſſeſſion of lands belonging to Saſſacus, without purchaſe or his conſent. Beſides, Saſſacus had too much ſagacity to let chriſtian ſpies, under the appellation of goſpel miſſionaries, paſs through his country. He had ſeen the conſequences of admitting ſuch miniſters of chriſtianity from Boſton, Hertford, &c. among his neighbouring nations, and generouſly warned them to keep their goſpel of peace from his dominions. The invaders of this howling wilderneſs, finding their ſavage love detected, and that the Pequods were not likely to fall a ſacrifice to their hypocriſy, proclaimed open war with ſword and gun. The unfortunate Saſſacus met his fate. Alas! he died—not like Connecticote, nor Quinnipiog—

but

but in the field of battle; and the freedom of his country expired with his final groan. This mighty conqueſt was achieved by the coloniſts of Connecticut, without the aid of the Maſſachuſets; nevertheleſs, Mr. Neal and others have aſcribed the *honour* of it to the latter, with a view of magnifying their conſequence, ever Mr. Neal's grand object.

The county of New-London abounds chiefly with wool, butter, cheeſe, and Indian corn; and contains eight towns, all which I ſhall deſcribe.

New-London has the river Thames on the eaſt, and the bay of its own name on the ſouth, and reſembles Iſlington. Its port and harbour are the beſt in the colony. The church, the meeting, and court-houſe, are not to be boaſted of; the fort is trifling. The houſes in this, as in all the towns in the province, are inſulated, at

the diſtance of three, four, or five yards one from the other, to prevent the ravages of fire. That of John Winthrop, Eſq; is the beſt in the province. The townſhip is ten miles ſquare, and comprizes five pariſhes, one of which is epiſcopal. Abimeleck, a deſcendant of the firſt Engliſh-made king of Mohegin, reſides with his ſmall party in this townſhip. He is a king to whom the people pay ſome reſpect,---*becauſe they made him ſo.*

The people of this town have the credit of inventing tar and feathers as a proper puniſhment for hereſy. They firſt inflicted it on quakers and anabaptiſts.

New-London has a printing preſs, much exerciſed in the buſineſs of pamphlets, ſermons, and newſpapers. It is employed by the Governor and Company, and is the oldeſt and beſt in the colony. Newhaven, Hertford, and Norwich, alſo, have each a printing preſs; ſo that the people are plentifully ſupplied with news,

politics,

politics, and polemical divinity.———A very extraordinary circumſtance happened here in 1740. Mr. George Whitefield paid them a viſit, and preached of *righteouſneſs*, *temperance*, and *a judgment to to come*, which rouſed them into the belief of an heaven and an hell. They became as *children weaned* and pliable as *melted wax*, and with great eagerneſs cried out, *What ſhall we do to be ſaved?* The preacher, then in the pulpit, thus anſwered them, "Repent—do violence to no man—part with your ſelf-righteouſneſs, your ſilk gowns, and laced petticoats—burn your ruffles, necklaces, jewels, rings, tinſelled waiſtcoats, your morality and biſhops books, this very night, or damnation will be your portion before the morning-dawn." The people, rather thro' fear than faith, inſtantly went out on the common, and prepared for heaven, by burning all the above *enumerated goods*, excepting that of ſelf-righteouſneſs, which

was

was exchanged for the preacher's velvet breeches.—Vide *Dr. Chancy.*

Groton, acroſs the bay from New-London, reſembles Batterſea. The townſhip is ten miles ſquare, and forms four pariſhes, one of which is epiſcopal. This town was the reſidence of the valiant Saſſacus, Sachem of the Pequod nation.

Stonington lies on Narraganſet bay, is the eaſt corner of Connecticut, and conſiſts of three pariſhes. The townſhip is 8 miles ſquare.

Preſton, on Quinnibaug river, forms three pariſhes, one of which is epiſcopal. The townſhip is 8 miles ſquare.

Norwich, on the Thames, 14 miles from the ſea, is an half-ſhire with New-London. The town ſtands on a plain, one mile from Chelſea, or the Landing.

Its

Its beſt ſtreet is two miles long, and has good houſes on both ſides, five yards aſunder from each other. In the centre is a common, of the ſize of Bloomſbury ſquare, in which ſtand a beautiful court-houſe, and a famous meeting with clocks, bells, and ſteeples. The townſhip is fifteen miles ſquare, and forms 13 pariſhes, one epiſcopal. Chelſea, or the Landing, reſembles Dover. [Here land is ſold at fifteen ſhillings ſterling by the ſquare foot.]—This town is famous for its trade; for iron-works, griſt, paper, linſeed, ſpinning and fulling mills; alſo for a furnace that makes ſtone ware.—Some peculiarities and curioſities here attract the notice of Europeans:--1. a bridge over Quinnibaug, 60 yards long, butted on two rocks, and geometrically ſupported; under which paſs ſhips with all their ſails ſtanding:—2. the ſteeple of the grand meeting-houſe ſtands at the eaſt end:—3. the inhabitants bury the dead with their feet

feet to the weſt.—The following couplet was written by a traveller on the ſteeple:

"They're ſo perverſe and oppoſite,
"As if they built to God in ſpite."

The reaſons for the ſingular cuſtom of burying the dead with their feet to the weſt, are two, and ſpecial: firſt, when Chriſt begins his millenarian reign, he will come from the weſt, and his ſaints will be in a ready poſture to riſe and meet him: ſecondly, the papiſts and epiſcopalians bury their dead with their feet to the eaſt.

Was I to give a character of the people of Norwich, I would do it in the words of the famous Mr. George Whitefield, (who was a good judge of mankind,) in his farewel-ſermon to them a ſhort time before his death; viz. "When I firſt preached in this magnificent houſe, above 20 years ago, I told you, that you were part beaſt, part man, and part devil; at which you were offended. I have ſince thought

thought much about that expreſſion, and confeſs that for once I was miſtaken. I therefore take this laſt opportunity to correct my error. Behold! I now tell you, that you are not part man and part beaſt, but wholly of the devil."

Lyme ſtands on the eaſt ſide of Connecticut river, oppoſite Saybrook; and reſembles Lewiſham. The townſhip is 16 miles long, and 8 wide; and forms four pariſhes.

Saybrook is ſituated on the weſt ſide of Connecticut river, 20 miles weſt from New-London, and reſembles Batterſea. The townſhip is twenty miles long and ſix wide, and forms four pariſhes. This town was named after the Lords Say and Brook, who were ſaid to claim the country, and ſent, in 1634, a Governor and a large number of people from England to build a fort and ſettle the colony. See pp. 9—18.

pp. 9—18. It was principally owing to this fort that Hertford and Newhaven made good their ſettlements: it prevented Saſſacus from giving timely aid to Connecticote and Quinnipiog.

Saybrook is greatly fallen from its ancient grandeur; but is, notwithſtanding, reſorted to with great veneration, as the parent town of the whole colony. The tombs of the firſt ſettlers are held ſacred, and travellers ſeldom paſs them without the compliment of a ſigh or tear. On one moſſy ſtone is written,

"Here pride is calm'd, and death is life."

In 1709, this town was honoured by a convention of contending independent divines, who were pleaſed with no conſtitution in church or ſtate.—This multitude of ſectarians, after long debates, publiſhed a book, called, The Saybrook Platform, containing the doctrines and rules of the churches in Connecticut. The only novelty in this ſyſtem is, that Chriſt

Chriſt has delegated his miniſterial, kingly, and prophetical power, one half to the people, and the other half to the miniſters. This propoſition may be thought in Europe a very ſtrange one; but, if it be recollected, that the people in the province claimed all power in heaven and on earth, and that the miniſters had no other ordination than what came from the people, it will appear, that the miniſters hereby gained from the people one half of their power. From this article originated the practice of the right hand of fellowſhip at the ordination of a miniſter. No one can be a miniſter, till he receives the right hand of the meſſenger who repreſents ſix deacons from ſix congregations. The concluſion of this reverend and venerable body is, "The "Bible is our rule."

Mr. Neal ſays, p. 610, "That every "particular ſociety is a compleat church, "having power to exerciſe all eccleſiaſti-

"cal

" cal juriſdiction, without appeal to any " claſſis:—they allow of ſynods for coun- " cil and advice, but not to exerciſe the " power of the keys."

If Mr. Neal had taken the trouble to read the Hiſtory of the Church of Maſſachuſets-Bay, written by the Reverend Mr. John Wiſe, a miniſter of that church, he would have found that the contrary to all he has advanced is the truth. The people of that province held the keys from 1620 to 1650: then the miniſters got poſſeſſion of them by their own vote, which was paſſed into a law by the General Aſſembly. The vote was, " There " cannot be a miniſter, unleſs he is or- " dained by miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt." Thus commenced ordination by miniſters in New-England. The people were alarmed at the loſs of the keys, and aſked the miniſters who had ordained them? The miniſters anſwered, The people. Then, replied the people, we are the miniſters

of

of Jeſus Chriſt, or you are not miniſters; and we will keep the power. A violent conteſt enſued between the people and the miniſters; but the latter, by the help of the General Aſſembly, retained the power of the keys, and inſtituted three eccleſiaſtical courts, viz. 1. The Miniſter and his Communicants; 2. The Aſſociation; and, 3. The Synod. There lies an appeal from one to the other of theſe courts, all which exerciſe ſo much eccleſiaſtical power, that few are eaſy under it. The firſt court ſuſpends from the communion; the ſecond re-hears the evidence, and confirms or ſets aſide the ſuſpenſion; the ſynod, after hearing the caſe again, excommunicates or diſcharges the accuſed. From this laſt judgment no appeal is allowed by the ſynod. The excommunicated perſon has no other reſource than petitioning the General Aſſembly of the province, which ſometimes grants relief, to the great grief of the ſynod and miniſters.

But the repreſentatives commonly pay dear for overlooking the conduct of the ſynod at the next election.

The people of Connecticut have adopted the ſame mode of diſcipline as prevails in Maſſachuſets-Bay; but call a ſynod a Conſociation.

To ſhew that the ſynods are not quite ſo harmleſs as Mr. Neal reports, I will give an inſtance of their authority exerciſed in Connecticut in 1758. A Mr. Merret, of Lebanon, having loſt his wife, with whom he had lived childleſs 40 years, went to Rhode-Iſland, and married a niece of his late wife, which was agreeable to the laws of that province. By her having a child, Mr. Merret offerred the ſame for baptiſm to the miniſter of whoſe church he was a member. The miniſter refuſed, becauſe it was an inceſtuous child; and cited Merret and his wife to appear before himſelf and his church upon an indictment of inceſt.

inceſt. Merret appeared; the verdict was, *Guilty of inceſt.* He appealed to the aſſociation, which alſo found him *guilty of inceſt.* He again appealed to the conſociation, and was again found *guilty of inceſt.*—Merret and his wife were then ordered to ſeparate, and to make a public confeſſion, on pain of excommunication. Merret refuſed; whereupon the miniſter read the act of excommunication, while the deacons ſhoved Merret out of the meeting-houſe. Being thus *caſt out of the ſynagogue*, and debarred from the converſation of any-one in the pariſh, it was well ſaid by Mr. Merret, "If this be not to exerciſe the power of the "keys, I know not what it is." The poor man ſoon after died of a broken heart, and was buried in his own garden by ſuch chriſtian brethren as were not afraid of the *mild* puiſſance of the conſociation.

Mr. Neal ſays, alſo, p. 609, after evincing his jealouſy at the growth of the

church of England in New-England, "If the religious liberties of the planta-"tions are invaded by the ſetting up of "ſpiritual courts, &c. they will feel the "ſad effects of it." In this ſentiment I agree with Mr. Neal; but, unluckily, he meant the biſhop's courts, and I mean the courts of ſynods, compoſed of his "meek, exemplary, and learned divines of New-England," but who are more ſevere and terrible than ever was the ſtar-chamber under the influence of Laud, or the inquiſition of Spain. The eccleſiaſtical courts of New-England have, in the courſe of 160 years, bored the tongues with hot needles, cut off the ears, branded the foreheads of, and baniſhed, impriſoned, and hanged, more quakers, baptiſts, adamites, ranters, epiſcopalians, for what they call hereſy, blaſphemy, and witchcraft, than there are inſtances of perſecution in Fox's book of Martyrology, or under the biſhops of England ſince the death

death of Henry VIII. And yet Mr. Neal was afraid of ſpiritual courts, and admired the practice of the New-England churches, who only excommunicate offenders, delivering them over to the civil magiſtrate to torture and ruin. If I remember right, I once ſaw the inquiſition in Portugal act after the very ſame manner, when the prieſt ſaid, "We deal with "the ſoul, and the civil magiſtrate with "the body."

Time not having deſtroyed the walls of the fort at Saybrook, Mr. Whitefield, in 1740, attempted to bring them down, as Joſhua brought down thoſe of Jerico, to convince the gaping multitude of his divine miſſion. He walked ſeven times round the fort with prayer and ramshorns blowing—he called on the angel of Joſhua to come and do as he had done at the walls of Jericho; but the angel was deaf, or on a journey, or aſleep; and therefore the walls remained. Here-

upon George cried aloud, "This town is accurſed for not receiving the meſſenger of the Lord; therefore the angel is departed, and the walls ſhall ſtand as a monument of a ſinful people." He *ſhook off the duſt of his feet* againſt them, and departed, and went to Lyme.

Killingſworth is ten miles weſt from Saybrook, lies on the ſea, and reſembles Wandſworth. The townſhip is eight miles ſquare, and divided into two pariſhes. This town is noted for the reſidence of the Rev. Mr. Elliot, commonly called Dr. Elliot, who diſcovered the art of making ſteel out of ſand, and wrote a book on huſbandry, which will ſecure him a place in the Temple of Fame.

Windham, the ſecond county in the ancient kingdom of Saſſacus, or colony of Saybrook, is hilly; but, the ſoil being rich, has

has excellent butter, cheeſe, hemp, wheat, Indian corn, and horſes. Its towns are twelve.

Windham reſembles Rumford, and ſtands on Winnomantic river. Its meeting-houſe is elegant, and has a ſteeple, bell, and clock. Its court-houſe is ſcarcely to be looked upon as an ornament. The townſhip forms four pariſhes, and is ten miles ſquare.

Strangers are very much terrified at the hideous noiſe made on ſummer evenings by the vaſt numbers of frogs in the brooks and ponds. There are about thirty different voices among them; ſome of which reſemble the bellowing of a bull. The owls and whipperwills complete the rough concert, which may be heard ſeveral miles. Perſons accuſtomed to ſuch ſerenades are not diſturbed by them at their proper ſtations; but one night, in July, 1758, the frogs of an arti-

ficial pond, three miles ſquare, and about five from Windham, finding the water dried up, left the place in a body, and marched, or rather hopped, towards Winnomantic river. They were under the neceſſity of taking the road and going through the town, which they entered about midnight. The bull frogs were the leaders, and the pipers followed without number. They filled a road 40 yards wide for four miles in length, and were for ſeveral hours paſſing through the town, unuſually clamorous. The inhabitants were equally perplexed and frightened: ſome expected to find an army of French and Indians; others feared an earthquake, and diſſolution of nature. The conſternation was univerſal. Old and young, male and female, fled naked from their beds with worſe ſhriekings than thoſe of the frogs. The event was fatal to ſeveral women. The men, after a flight of half a mile, in which they met with many broken

broken ſhins, finding no enemies in purſuit of them, made a halt, and ſummoned reſolution enough to venture back to their wives and children; when they diſtinctly heard from the enemy's camp theſe words, *Wight, Helderken, Dier, Tètè.* This laſt they thought meant *treaty*; and plucking up courage, they ſent a triumvirate to capitulate with the ſuppoſed French and Indians. Theſe three men approached in their ſhirts, and begged to ſpeak with the General; but it being dark, and no anſwer given, they were ſorely agitated for ſome time betwixt hope and fear; at length, however, they diſcovered that the dreaded inimical army was an army of thirſty frogs going to the river for a little water.

Such an incurſion was never known before nor ſince; and yet the people of Windham have been ridiculed for their timidity on this occaſion. I verily believe an army under the Duke of Marlborough

ficial pond, three miles ſquare, and about five from Windham, finding the water dried up, left the place in a body, and marched, or rather hopped, towards Winnomantic river. They were under the neceſſity of taking the road and going through the town, which they entered about midnight. The bull frogs were the leaders, and the pipers followed without number. They filled a road 40 yards wide for four miles in length, and were for ſeveral hours paſſing through the town, unuſually clamorous. The inhabitants were equally perplexed and frightened: ſome expected to find an army of French and Indians; others feared an earthquake, and diſſolution of nature. The conſternation was univerſal. Old and young, male and female, fled naked from their beds with worſe ſhriekings than thoſe of the frogs. The event was fatal to ſeveral women. The men, after a flight of half a mile, in which they met with many broken

broken ſhins, finding no enemies in purſuit of them, made a halt, and ſummoned reſolution enough to venture back to their wives and children; when they diſtinctly heard from the enemy's camp theſe words, *Wight*, *Helderken*, *Dier*, *Tètè*. This laſt they thought meant *treaty*; and plucking up courage, they ſent a triumvirate to capitulate with the ſuppoſed French and Indians. Theſe three men approached in their ſhirts, and begged to ſpeak with the General; but it being dark, and no anſwer given, they were ſorely agitated for ſome time betwixt hope and fear; at length, however, they diſcovered that the dreaded inimical army was an army of thirſty frogs going to the river for a little water.

Such an incurſion was never known before nor ſince; and yet the people of Windham have been ridiculed for their timidity on this occaſion. I verily believe an army under the Duke of Marlborough

borough would, under like circumſtances, have acted no better than they did.

In 1768, the inhabitants on Connecticut river were as much alarmed at an army of caterpillers, as thoſe of Windham were at the frogs; and no one found reaſon to jeſt at their fears. Thoſe worms came in one night and covered the earth on both ſides of that river, to an extent of three miles in front and two in depth. They marched with great ſpeed, and eat up every-thing green for the ſpace of 100 miles, in ſpite of rivers, ditches, fires, and the united efforts of 1000 men. They were, in general, two inches long, had white bodies covered with thorns, and red throats. When they had finiſhed their work, they went down to the river Connecticut, where they died, poiſoning the waters until they were waſhed into the ſea. This calamity was imputed by ſome to the vaſt number of trees and logs lying in the creeks,

creeks, and to the cinders, ſmoke, and fires made to conſume the waſte wood, for three or four hundred miles up the Connecticut; while others thought it augurated future evils ſimilar to thoſe in Egypt. The inhabitants of the Verdmonts would unavoidably have periſhed by famine in conſequence of the devaſtation of theſe worms, had not a remarkable providence filled the wilderneſs with wild pigeons, which were killed by ſticks as they ſat on the branches of trees in ſuch multitudes, that 30,000 people lived on them for three weeks. If a natural cauſe may be aſſigned for the coming of the frogs and caterpillars, yet the viſit of the pigeons to a wilderneſs in Auguſt has been neceſſarily aſcribed to an interpoſition of infinite power and goodneſs. Happy will it be for America, if the ſmiling providence of Heaven produces gratitude, repentance, and obedience, amongſt her children!

Lebanon

Lebanon lies on the weſt ſide of Winnomantic river. Its beſt ſtreet, which has good houſes on both ſides, is one mile long, and 100 yards wide. An elegant meeting, with a ſteeple and bell, ſtands in the center. The townſhip is ten miles ſquare, and forms four pariſhes. This town was formerly famous for an Indian ſchool under the conduct of the Reverend Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, whoſe great zeal for the ſpiritual good of the ſavages in the wilderneſs induced him to ſollicit a collection through England. Having met with ſucceſs, his ſchool at Lebanon became a college in the Province of Newhampſhire; where he has converted his godlineſs into gain, and promiſes fair to excuſe Government from the expence of a ſuperintendent of Indian affairs.

Coventry lies on the ſame river: the houſes are ſtraggling. The townſhip is ten miles ſquare, and conſiſts of two pariſhes.

riſhes. Here are two ponds, the one three, the other four miles long, and half as wide, well filled with mackarel and other fiſh.

Mansfield lies eaſt of Coventry, on Winnomantic and Fundy rivers: the houſes are ſcattered. The townſhip is eight miles ſquare, and divided into two pariſhes.

Union and *Willington* lie on Winnomantic river, forming two pariſhes. Each townſhip is ſix miles ſquare.

Aſhford lies on the river Fundy, in a townſhip ten miles ſquare, and forming three pariſhes. The people of the town have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a ſtrict enforcement of the colony laws againſt heretics, and epiſcopalians, for not attending their meetings on the Sabbath.

Woodſtock lies on Quinnibaug, and reſembles

ſembles Finchley. The townſhip is ten miles ſquare, and divided into three pariſhes.—Woodſtock had the honour to give birth to the Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D. D. a learned Divine of the Church of England, and well known in the literary world.

Killingſley lies eaſt of Woodſtock. The townſhip, twenty miles long, and ſix wide, forms three pariſhes.

Pomfret ſtands on Quinnibaug river, and reſembles Batterſea. The townſhip is twelve miles ſquare, and forms four pariſhes, one of which is epiſcopal.—Fanaticiſm had always prevailed in the county of Windham over chriſtian moderation; when, about the year 1770, after many abuſes, the epiſcopalians found a friend in Godfree Malebone, Eſq. who built on his own eſtate an elegant church, which was patronized by the Society for the

the Propagation of the Goſpel in foreign Parts, who appointed a clergyman.

We read that David ſlew a lion and a bear, and afterwards that Saul truſted him to fight Goliath. In Pomfret lives Colonel Iſrael Putnam, who ſlew a ſhe-bear and her two cubs with a billet of wood. The bravery of this action brought him into public notice: and, it ſeems, he is one of Fortune's favourites. The ſtory is as follows:—In 1754, a large ſhe-bear came in the night from her den, which was three miles from Mr. Putnam's houſe, and took a ſow out of a pen of his. The ſow, by her ſqueaking, awoke Mr. Putnam, who haſtily ran in his ſhirt to the poor creature's relief; but before he could reach the pen, the bear had left it, and was trotting away with the ſow in her mouth. Mr. Putnam took up a billet of wood, and followed the ſcreamings of the ſow, till he came to the foot of a mountain, where the den was. Dauntleſs he entered

entered the horrid cavern; and, after walking and crawling upon his hands and knees for fifty yards, came to a roomy cell, where the bear met him with great fury. He ſaw nothing but the fire of her eyes; but that was ſufficient for our hero: he accordingly directed his blow, which at once proved fatal to the bear, and ſaved his own life at a moſt critical moment. Putnam then diſcovered and killed two cubs; and having, though in Egyptian darkneſs, dragged them and the dead ſow, one by one, out of the cave, he went home, and calmly reported to his family what had happened. The neighbours declared, on viewing the place by torch-light, that his exploit exceeded thoſe of Sampſon or David.—Soon afterwards, the General Aſſemby appointed Mr. Putnam a Lieutenant in the army marching againſt Canada. His courage and good conduct raiſed him to the rank of Captain the next year. The third year he was made

a Major;

a Major; and the fourth a Colonel. Putnam and Rogers were the heroes through the laſt war. Putnam was ſo hardy, at a time when the Indians had killed all his men, and completely hemmed him in upon a river, as to leap into the ſtream, which in a minute carried him down a ſtupendous fall, where no tree could paſs without being torn in pieces. The Indians reaſonably concluded that Putnam, their terrible enemy, was dead, and made their report accordingly at Ticonderoga; but ſoon after, a ſcouting party found their ſad miſtake in a bloody rencontre. Some few that got off declared that Putnam was yet living, and that he was the firſt ſon of Hobbamockow, and therefore immortal. However, at length, the Indians took this terrible warrior priſoner, and tied him to a tree; where he hung three days without food or drink. They did not attempt to kill him for fear of offending Hobbamockow; but

they ſold him to the French at a great price. The name of Putnam was more alarming to the Indians than cannon, and they never would fight him after his eſcape from the falls. He was afterwards redeemed by the Engliſh.

Plainfield and *Canterbury* lie on Quinibaug river, oppoſite to one another, and have much the appearance of Lewiſham. Each townſhip is 8 miles ſquare, and forms two pariſhes.

Voluntown lies on a ſmall river, and, reſembles Finchley Common. The townſhip is 15 miles long, and 5 wide, and forms three pariſhes, one of which is Preſbyterian. This ſect has met with as little chriſtian charity and humanity in this hair-brain'd county as the Anabaptiſts, Quakers, and Churchmen. The *Sober Diſſenters* of this town, as they ſtile themſelves, will not attend the funeral of a Preſbyterian.

The

The KINGDOM OF CONNECTICOTE forms two counties, viz. Hertford and Litchfield, which contain about 15,000 houſes, and 120,000 inhabitants.

The county of Hertford excels the reſt in tobacco, onions, grain of all ſorts, hay, and cyder. It contains twenty-one towns, the chief of which I ſhall deſcribe, comparing the reſt to towns near London.

HERTFORD town is deemed the capital of the province: it ſtands 40 miles from Saybrook, and the ſame diſtance from Newhaven, on the weſt bank of Connecticut river, and is formed into ſquares. The townſhip is 20 miles from eaſt to weſt, and ſix in breadth, comprizing ſix pariſhes, one of which is epiſcopal.

The houſes are partly of brick and partly of wood, well built, but, as I have

obſerved in general of the towns in Connecticut, do not join. King's-Street is two miles long, and 30 yards wide; well-paved, and cut in two by a ſmall river, over which is a high bridge. The town is half a mile wide. A grand court-houſe, and two elegant meetings, with ſteeples, bells, and clocks, adorn it. In 1760, a foundation of quarry-ſtone was laid for an epiſcopal church in this town, at the expence of near 300*l.* on which occaſion the Epiſcopalians had a mortifying proof that the preſent inhabitants inherit the ſpirit of their anceſtors. Samuel Talcot, Eſq. one of the Judges of the County-Court, with the aſſiſtance of a mob, took away the ſtones, and with them built a houſe for his ſon. What added to ſo meritorious an action was, its being juſtified by the General Aſſembly and the Conſociation.

In 1652, this town had the *honour* of executing Mrs. Greenſmith, the firſt witch

witch ever heard of in America. She was accuſed in the indictment of practiſing evil things on the body of Ann Cole, which did not appear to be true; but the Reverend Mr. Stone, and other miniſters, ſwore that Greenſmith had confeſſed to them that the devil had had carnal knowledge of her. The court then ordered her to be hanged upon the indictment.—Surely none of thoſe learned divines and ſtateſmen ſtudied in the Temple or Lincoln's-Inn!—It ſhould ſeem, that every dominion or townſhip was poſſeſſed of an ambition to make itſelf famous in hiſtory.—The ſame year, Springfield, not to be outdone by Hertford, brought Hugh Parſons to trial for witchcraft, and the jury found him guilty: but Mr. Pincheon, the judge, had ſome underſtanding, and prevented his execution till the matter was laid before the General Court at Boſton, who determined that he was not guilty of witchcraft. The truth was,

Parſons was bleſſed with a fine perſon and genteel addreſs, inſomuch that the women could not help admiring him above every other man in Springfield, and the men could not help hating him:—ſo that there were witneſſes enough to ſwear that Parſons was a wizard,—becauſe he made females love and males hate him.

In Hertford are the following curioſities: 1. An houſe built of American oak in 1640, the timbers of which are yet ſound, nay almoſt petrified: in it was born Jonathan Belcher, Eſq. Governor of Maſſachuſets-Bay and New-Jerſey.—2. An elm eſteemed ſacred for being the tree in which their charter was concealed.—3. A wonderful well, which was dug 60 feet deep without any appearance of water, when a large rock was met with. The miners boring this rock, in order to blaſt it with powder, drove the auger through it, upon which the water

ter ſpouted up with ſuch great velocity, that it was with great difficulty the well was ſtoned. It ſoon filled and ran over, and has ſupported, or rather made, a brook for above one hundred years.

The tomb of Mr. Hooker is viewed with great reverence by his diſciples. Nathaniel, his great grandſon, a miniſter in Hertford, inherits more than all his virtues, without any of his vices.

Weathersfield is four miles from Hertford, and more compact than any town in the colony. The meeting-houſe is of brick, with a ſteeple, bell, and clock. The inhabitants ſay it is much larger than Solomon's Temple. The townſhip ten miles ſquare; pariſhes four. The people are more gay than polite, and more ſuperſtitious than religious.

This town raiſes more onions than are conſumed in all New-England. It is a rule

with parents to buy annually a ſilk gown for each daughter above ſeven years old, till ſhe is married. The young beauty is obliged, in return, to weed a patch of onions with her own hands; which ſhe performs in the cool of the morning, before ſhe dreſſes for her breakfaſt. This laudable and healthy cuſtom is ridiculed by the ladies in other towns, who idle away their mornings in bed, or in gathering the pink, or catching the butterfly, to ornament their toilets; while the gentlemen far and near forget not the Weathersfield ladies ſilken induſtry.

Weathersfield was ſettled in 1637, by the Rev. Mr. Smith, and his followers, who left Watertown, near Boſton, in order to get out of the power of Mr. Cotton, whoſe ſeverity in New-England exceeded that of the biſhops in Old England. But Mr. Smith did not diſcard the ſpirit of perſecution as the ſole property of Mr. Cotton, but carried with him

him a ſufficient quantity of it to diſtreſs and divide his little flock.

Middletown is ten miles below Weathersfield, and beautifully ſituated upon the Connecticut, between two ſmall rivers, one mile aſunder, which is the length of the town and grand ſtreet. Here are an elegant church, with a ſteeple, bell, clock, and organ; and a large meeting without a ſteeple. The people are polite, and not much troubled with that fanatic zeal which pervades the reſt of the colony. The townſhip is ten miles ſquare, and forms four pariſhes, one epiſcopal. This and the two preceding towns may be compared to Chelſea.

The following towns, which lie on Connecticut river, are ſo much alike, that a deſcription of one will ſerve for the whole; viz. *Windſor*, *Eaſt-Windſor*, *Glaſtonbury*, *Endfield*, *Suffield*, *Chatham*, *Haddam*, and *Eaſt-Haddam*.——*Windſor*, the beſt, is cut in two by the river Ett, which wanders

wanders from the northweſt 100 miles through various meadows, towns, and villages, and reſembles Bedford. Townſhip ten miles ſquare, forming three pariſhes. It was ſettled in 1637, by the Rev. Mr. Huet and his aſſociates, who fled from religious ſlavery in Boſton to enjoy the power of depriving others of liberty.

The following towns, lying back of the river towns, being ſimilar in moſt reſpects, I ſhall join alſo in one claſs; viz. *Hebron*, *Colcheſter*, *Bolton*, *Toland*, *Stafford*, and *Sommers*.

Hebron is the center of the province; and it is remarkable that there are 36 towns larger, and 36 leſs. It is ſituated between two ponds, about two miles in length, and one in breadth; and is interſected by two ſmall rivers, one of which falls into the Connecticut, the other into the Thames. A large meeting ſtands on a ſquare, where four

four roads meet. The town reſembles Finchley. The townſhip eight miles ſquare; five pariſhes, one is epiſcopal. The number of houſes is 400; of the inhabitants 3200. It pays one part out of ſeventy-three of all governmental taxes; and is a bed of farmers on their own eſtates. Frequent ſuits about the Indian titles have rendered them famous for their knowledge in law and ſelf-preſervation. In 1740, Mr. George Whitefield gave them this laconic character. "Hebron," ſays he, "is the ſtrong-hold of Satan; "for its people mightily oppoſe the work "of the Lord, being more fond of earth "than of heaven."

This town is honoured by the reſidence of the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Pomeroy; an excellent ſcholar, an exemplary gentleman, and a moſt thundering preacher of the new-light order. His great abilities procured him the favour and honour of being the inſtructor of Abime-

Abimeleck, the preſent King of Mohegin. He is of a very perſevering, ſovereign diſpoſition; but juſt, polite, generous, charitable and without diſſimulation.—*Avis alba.*

Here alſo reſide ſome of the deſcendants of William Peters, Eſq. already ſpoken of; among whom is the Rev. Samuel Peters, an epiſcopal clergyman, who, by his generoſity and zeal for the Church of England, and loyalty to the Houſe of Hanover, has rendered himſelf famous both in New and Old England, and in ſome degree made an attonement for the fanaticiſm and treaſons of his uncle Hugh, and of his anceſtor on his mother's ſide, Major-General Thomas Harriſon, both hanged at Charing-Croſs in the laſt century. *See pp.* 48—55, *note.*

Colcheſter has to boaſt of the Rev. John Buckley for its firſt miniſter, whoſe grandfather was the Rev. Peter Buckley, of Woodhill, in Bedfordſhire, in Old-England

England; who, after being ſilenced by the Biſhop for his miſconduct, went to New-England in 1635, and died at Concord in 1658.—John Buckley was a great ſcholar: and, ſuffering prudence to govern his hard temper, he conciliated the eſteem of all parties, and became the ornament of the *Sober Diſſenters* in Connecticut. He was a lawyer, a phyſician, and a divine. He publiſhed an ingenious pamphlet to prove that the title of the people to their lands was good, becauſe they had taken them out of the ſtate of nature. His argument ſatisfied many who thought their titles were neither legal, juſt, nor ſcriptural: indeed, it may ſeem concluſive, if his major propoſition be granted, That the Engliſh found Connecticut in a ſtate of nature. His ſon John was a lawyer and phyſician of great reputation, and was appointed a judge of the ſuperior court very young. He and his father were ſuſpected to be not ſound in the faith,

faith, becauſe they uſed in their prayers, *From battle and murder, and from ſudden death, good Lord deliver us, for the ſake of thine only ſon, who commands us thus to pray, Our Father, &c. &c.*———Peter Buckley was poſſeſſed of a gentleman's eſtate in Bedfordſhire, which he ſold, and ſpent the produce among his ſervants in Maſſachuſets-Bay. His poſterity in Colcheſter, in Connecticut, are very rich, and, till lately, were held in great eſteem; which, however, they loſt, by conforming to the Church of England.

There is nothing remarkable to be obſerved of any of the other towns I have claſſed with Hebron, except Stafford, which poſſeſſes a mineral ſpring that has the reputation of curing the gout, ſterility, pulmony, hyſterics, &c. &c. and therefore is the New-England *Bath*, where the ſick and rich reſort to prolong life, and acquire the polite accompliſhments.

Her-

Herrington, Farmington, and Symſbury, lying weſt from Hertford, and on the river Ett, will finiſh the county of Hertford.

Herrington is ten miles ſquare, and forms two pariſhes.

Farmington reſembles Croydon. The townſhip is fifteen miles ſquare, and forms eight pariſhes, three of which are epiſcopal. Here the meadow land is ſold at 50l. ſterling per acre.

Symſbury, with its meadows and ſurrounding hills, forms a beautiful landſkip, much like Maidſtone in Kent. The townſhip is 20 miles ſquare, and conſiſts of nine pariſhes, four of which are epiſcopal. Here are copper mines. In working one many years ago, the miners bored half a mile through a mountain, making large cells 40 yards below the ſurface, which now ſerve as a priſon, by order

der of the General Aſſembly, for ſuch offenders as they chuſe not to hang. The priſoners are let down on a windlaſs into this diſmal cavern, through an hole, which anſwers the triple purpoſe of conveying them food, air, and—— I was going to ſay light, but it ſcarcely reaches them. In a few months the priſoners are releaſed by death and the colony rejoices in her great *humanity*, and the *mildneſs* of her laws. This conclave of ſpirits impriſoned may be called, with great propriety, the catacomb of Connecticut. The light of the Sun and the light of the Goſpel are alike ſhut out from the martyrs, whoſe reſurrection-ſtate will eclipſe the wonder of that of Lazarus. It has been remarked by the candid part of this religious colony, that the General Aſſembly and Conſociation have never allowed any priſoners in the whole province a chaplain, though they have ſpent much of their time and the public money in ſpreading the Goſpel

in

in the neighbouring colonies among the Indians, quakers, and epiſcopalians, and though, at the ſame time, thoſe religioniſts preach damnation to all people who neglect to attend public worſhip twice every Sabbath, faſting, and thankſgiving day, provided they are appointed by themſelves, and not by the King and Parliament of Great Britain. This well-founded remark has been treated by the zealots as ſpringing more from malice than policy.

I beg leave to give the following inſtances of the *humanity* and *mildneſs* the province has always manifeſted for the epiſcopal clergy:

About 1746, the Rev. Mr. Gibbs, of Symſbury, refuſing to pay a rate impoſed for the ſalary of Mr. Mills, a diſſenting miniſter in the ſame town, was, by the Collector, thrown acroſs a horſe, laſhed hands and feet under the creature's belly, and carried many miles in that

humane manner to gaol. Mr. Gibbs was half-dead when he got there; and, though he was releaſed by his church-wardens, who, to ſave his life, paid the aſſeſſment, yet, having taken cold in addition to his bruiſes, he became delirious, and has remained in a ſtate of inſanity ever ſince.

In 1772, the Reverend Mr. Mozley, a Miſſionary from the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel, at Litchfield, was preſented by the grand jury for marrying a couple belonging to his pariſh after the banns were duly publiſhed, and conſent of parents obtained. The Court *mildly* fined Mr. Mozley 20*l.* becauſe he could not ſhew any other licence to officiate as a clergyman, than what he had received from the Biſhop of London, whoſe authority the Court determined did not extend to Connecticut, which was a chartered government. One of the Judges ſaid, "It is high time to put "a ſtop to the uſurpations of the Biſhop

"of

" of London, and to let him know, that " though his licence be lawful, and may " impower one of his *curates* to marry in " England, yet it is not ſo in America; " and if fines would not curb them in " this point, impriſonment ſhould."

The ſecond county in the kingdom of Connecticote, and the moſt mountainous in the whole province, is Litchfield; which produces abundance of wheat, butter, cheeſe, iron ore, &c. and has many iron-works, founderies, and furnaces. It contains the following 14 towns:

Litchfield is watered by two ſmall rivers. An elegant meeting, and a decent court-houſe, with ſteeples and bells, ornament the ſquare, where three roads meet. The beſt ſtreet is one mile long. It reſembles Dartford. The townſhip is 12 miles ſquare, and forms five pariſhes, one of which is epiſcopal.

Tho' Litchfield is the youngeſt county

of Connecticut, yet, in 1766, it ſet an example to the reſt worthy of imitation. The province had always been greatly peſtered by a generation of men called quacks, who, with a few Indian noſtrums, a lancet, a gliſter-pipe, rhubarb, treacle-water, mixed with Roman bombaſt of *vena cava* and *vena porta*, attacked fevers, nervous diſorders, and broken bones, and, by the grace of perſeverance, ſubdued nature, and helped their patients to a paſſage to the world of ſpirits before they were ready. The ſurgeons and phyſicians, who were not quacks, formed themſelves into a ſociety, for the encouragement of literature and a regular and wholeſome practice. But their laudable endeavours were diſcountenanced by the General Aſſembly, who refuſed to comply with their ſollicitation for a charter; becauſe the quacks and people ſaid, "If the charter were granted, the learned men would become too rich by

by a monopoly, as they had in England." The anſwer to this objection was, "Would it not be better to permit a monoply to preſerve the health and lives of the people, than to ſuffer quacks to kill them, and ruin the province?" The reply proved deciſive in that fanatical aſſembly, viz. "No medicine can be ſerviceable without the bleſſing of God. The quacks never adminiſter any phyſic before the miniſter has prayed for a bleſſing; whereas the learned doctors ſay, that the bleſſing is in their phyſic, without the prayers of miniſters." One doctor propoſed the trial of a doſe of arſenic; whether it would not kill any-one who would take it, though 20 miniſters ſhould pray againſt it. He was called a profane man—the petition was rejected—and quackery remains triumphant!

New-Milford lies on Oſootonoc river. A church and meeting, with ſteeples

and bells, beautify the town, which reſembles Fulham. The townſhip, twelve miles ſquare, forms five pariſhes, of which two are epiſcopal.

Woodbury lies on the ſame river, and reſembles Kentiſh-Town. The townſhip, twelve miles ſquare, is divided into ſeven pariſhes, three of them epiſcopal.——In this town lives the Rev. Dr. Bellamy, who is a good ſcholar, and a great preacher. He has attempted to ſhew a more excellent way to heaven than was known before. He may be called the *Athenian* of Connecticut; for he has publiſhed ſomething new to the chriſtian world—Zuinglius may learn of him.

The following towns lie alſo on the Oſootonoc, viz. *Sharon*, *Kent*, *Saliſbury*, *New-Fairfield*, *Cornwall*, *Goſhen*, and *Canaan*; and all of them reſemble Finchley. Each townſhip is ten miles ſquare.—

Sharon

Sharon forms three parishes, one of which is episcopal. It is much noted on account of a famous mill, invented and built by Mr. Joel Harvey, upon his own estate; for which he received a compliment of 20*l.* from the Society of Arts in London. The water, by turning one wheel, sets the whole in motion. In two apartments wheat is ground; in two others, bolted; in another threshed; in a sixth, winnowed; in the seventh hemp and flax are beaten, and in the eighth dressed. Either branch is discontinued at pleasure, without impeding the rest.

The other towns in Litchfield county are, *New-Hertford*, *Torrington*, *Hartland*, and *Winchester*, all which lie on the river Ett. The townships are severally about six miles square, and each forms one parish.

The KINGDOM OF QUINNIPIOG constitutes the Dominion of Newhaven,

divided into two counties, viz. Newhaven and Fairfield; theſe again divided into 17 townſhips, about 12 miles ſquare each. The number of houſes is nearly 10,000, and that of the inhabitants 60,000.

The county of Newhaven is hilly, and has a thin ſoil, enriched, however, by the induſtry of its inhabitants. The chief commodities are, flax, rye, barley, white beans, and ſalt-hay. It contains eight towns; four of which lie on the Sound, and the other on the back of them.

Newhaven townſhip comprizes fourteen pariſhes; three of them epiſcopal, and one Sandemanian. The town, being the moſt beautiful in New-England, if not in all America, is entitled to a minute deſcription. It is bounded ſoutherly by the bay into which the river Quinnipiack empties itſelf; eaſterly and weſterly, by two creeks two miles aſunder; and, northerly, by a lofty mountain, that extends

tends even to the river St. Laurence, and forms a high land between the rivers Hudſon and Connecticote; ſtanding in a plain three miles by two in extent. This plain is divided into 300 ſquares, of the ſize of Bloomſbury-ſquare, with ſtreets 20 yards wide between each diviſion. Forty of theſe ſquares are already built upon, having houſes of brick and wood on each front, about five yards aſunder; every houſe with a garden that produces vegetables ſufficient for the family. Two hundred houſes are annually erected. Elms and button-trees ſurround the center ſquare, wherein are two meetings, the court-houſe, the jail, and Latin ſchool;—in the fronts of the adjoining ſquares are, Yale College, the chapel, a meeting, and a church;—all theſe grand buildings, with ſteeples and bells. The market is plentifully ſupplied with every neceſſary during the whole year, excepting greens in winter. But the harbour

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is incommoded by flats near the town, of one mile in width, and by ice in winter. The former evil is, in ſome meaſure remedied by long and expenſive wharves; but the latter is incurable. The people, however, ſay their trade is greater than that of Norwich or New-London; and their ſhipping, of different burthens, conſiſts of near 200 ſail.

According to Dr. Mather, Newhaven was, about 1646, to have been made a city, the intereſt of the colony with Cromwell's party being then very great; but a wonderful phenomenon prevented it. As the good Dr. Mather never wanted faith through the whole courſe of his *magnalia*, and as the New-Englanders, to the preſent time, believe his reports, I will here preſent my readers with the hiſtory of this miracle:

"The people of Newhaven fitted out a ſhip, and ſent her richly laden for England, to procure a patent for the colony, and

and a charter for the city.—After the ſhip had been at ſea ſome weeks, there happened in New-England a violent ſtorm, which induced the people of Newhaven to faſt and pray, to inquire of the Lord whether their ſhip was in that ſtorm, or not. This was a real faſt; for the people neither eat nor drank from ſun-riſe till ſun-ſet. At five o'clock in the afternoon, they came out of meeting, walking ſoftly, heavily, and ſadly, homewards. On a ſudden the *air thundered*, and the *lightnings ſhone abroad*. They looked up towards the heavens, when they beheld their ſhip under full ſail, and the ſailors ſteering her from weſt to eaſt. She came over the meeting where they had faſted and prayed, and then was met by an euroclydon, which rent the ſails, and overſet the ſhip—in a few moments ſhe fell down near the weather-cock on the ſteeple, and inſtantly vaniſhed. The people all returned to the meeting, where

where the miniſter gave thanks to God, for anſwering the deſires of his ſervants, and for giving them an infallible token of the loſs of their ſhip and charter."

This, and divers other miracles which have happened in New-England, have been, and ſtill are, uſeful to the clergy in eſtabliſhing the people in the belief that there is a great familiarity between God and their miniſters. Hence the miniſters govern the ſuperſtitious; whilſt the deacon, the lawyer, and the merchant, for lucre, wink at the impoſition—yet the miniſters in their turn are governed by their abettors. The caſe, upon the whole, is this: the miniſters govern a multitude of fools, and are themſelves governed by knaves.

——— Thou genius of adventure! that carriedſt Columbus from eaſtern to the weſtern ſhores, the domain of ſavage beaſts and ſavage men, now curſed with the demons of ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm, oh!

oh! kindle in no other breaſt the wiſh to ſeek new worlds:—Africa already mourns, and Europe trembles!———

The true character of Davenport and Eaton, the leaders of the firſt ſettlers of Newhaven, may be learnt from the following fact:—An Engliſh gentleman, of the name of Grigſon, coming, on his travels, to Newhaven, about the year 1644, was greatly pleaſed with its pleaſant ſituation; and, after purchaſing a large ſettlement, ſent to London for his wife and family. But before their arrival, he found that a charming ſituation, without the bleſſing of religious and civil liberty, would not render him and his family happy: he reſolved, therefore, to quit the country, and return to England, as ſoon as his family ſhould arrive, and accordingly advertiſed his property for ſale; when lo! agreeable to one of the Blue Laws, no one would buy, becauſe he had not, and could not obtain liberty of

of the ſelectmen to ſell it. The patriotic virtue of the ſelectmen thus becoming an inſurmountable bar to the ſale of his Newhaven eſtate, Mr. Grigſon made his will, and bequeathed part of his lands towards the ſupport of an epiſcopal clergyman, who ſhould reſide in that town, and the reſidue to his own heirs. Having depoſited his will in the hands of a friend, he ſet ſail, with his family, for England, but died on his paſſage. This friend proved the will, and had it recorded, but died alſo ſoon after. The record was dexterouſly concealed by glueing two leaves together; and, after ſome years, the ſelectmen ſold the whole eſtate to pay taxes, though the rent of Mr. Grigſon's houſe alone in one year would pay the taxes for ten. Some perſons, hardy enough to exclaim againſt this glaring injuſtice, were ſoon ſilenced, and expelled the town. In 1750, an epiſcopal clergyman was ſettled in Newhaven; and, having been informed

informed of Mr. Grigſon's will, applied to the town-clerk for a copy, who told him there was no ſuch will on record, and withal refuſed him the liberty of ſearching. In 1768, Peter Harriſon, Eſq. from Nottinghamſhire, in England, the King's collector at the port of New-haven, claimed his right of ſearching public records; and, being a ſtranger, and not ſuppoſed to have any knowledge of Grigſon's will, obtained his demand.—The alphabet contained Grigſon's name, and referred to a page which was not to be found in the book. Mr. Harriſon at firſt ſuppoſed it to have been torn out; but, on a cloſer examination, diſcovered one leaf much thicker than the others. He put a corner of the thick leaf into his mouth, and ſoon found it was compoſed of two leaves, which with much difficulty having ſeparated, he found Grigſon's will! To make ſure work, he took a copy of it himſelf, and then called the clerk to draw

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and atteſt another; which was done. Thus furniſhed, Mr. Harriſon inſtantly applied to the ſelectmen, and demanded a ſurrender of the land which belonged to the church, but which they as promptly refuſed; whereupon Mr. Harriſon took out writs of ejectment againſt the poſſeſſors. As might be expected, Mr. Harriſon, from a good man, became, in ten days, the worſt man in the world; but, being a generous and brave Engliſhman, he valued not their clamours and curſes, though they terrified the gentlemen of the law. Harriſon was obliged to be his own lawyer, and boldly declared he expected to loſe his cauſe in New-England; but after that he would appeal, and try it, at his own expence, in Old England, where juſtice reigned. The good people, knowing Harriſon did not get his bread by their votes, and that they could not baffle him, reſigned the lands to the church on that gentleman's own terms; which in a few

a few years will ſupport a clergyman in a very genteel manner. The honeſt ſelectmen yet poſſeſs the other lands, though report ſays Mr. Grigſon has an heir of his own name, reſiding near Holborn, in London, who inherits the virtues of his anceſtor, and ought to inherit his eſtate.

Bob Gregson the boxer lives in Holborn!

The ſad and awful diſcovery of Mr. Grigſon's will, after having been concealed above 100 years, would have confounded any people but thoſe of Newhaven, who ſtudy nothing but religion and liberty. Thoſe pious ſouls conſoled themſelves by compariſon: "We are no "worſe," ſaid they, "than the people of "Boſton and Windham county." The following fact will explain this juſtification of the ſaints of Newhaven:

In 1740, Mrs. Curſette, an Engliſh lady, travelling from New-York to Boſton, was obliged to ſtay ſome days at Hebron; where, ſeeing the church not finiſhed, and the church-people ſuffer-

fering great perſecutions, ſhe told them to perſevere in their good work, and ſhe would ſend them a preſent when ſhe got to Boſton. Soon after her arrival there, Mrs. Curſette fell ſick and died. In her will ſhe gave a legacy of 300l. old tenor (then equal to 100l. ſterling) to the church of England in Hebron; and appointed John Hancock, Eſq. and Nathaniel Glover, her executors. Glover was alſo her reſiduary legatee. The will was obliged to be recorded in Windham county, becauſe ſome of Mrs. Curſette's lands lay there. Glover ſent the will by Deacon S— H—, of Canterbury, ordering him to get it recorded, and keep it private, leſt the legacy ſhould build up the church. The Deacon and Regiſter were faithful to their truſt, and kept Glover's ſecret *twenty-five* years. At length the Deacon was taken ill, and his life was ſuppoſed in great danger. Among his penitential confeſſions, he told of his having concealed

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Mrs. Curſette's will. His confident went to Hebron, and informed the wardens, that for one guinea he would diſcover a ſecret of 300*l.* old tenor conſequence to the Church. The guinea was paid, and the ſecret diſcloſed. A demand of the legacy enſued. Mr. Hancock referred to Glover; and Glover ſaid he was neither obliged to publiſh the will, nor pay the legacy: it had lapſed to the heir at law. It being difficult for a Connecticut man to recover a debt in the Maſſachuſets-Bay, and *vice verſa*, the wardens were obliged to accept from Mr. Glover 30*l.* inſtead of 300*l.* ſterling; which ſum, allowing 200*l.* as lawful ſimple intereſt at ſix per cent. for 25 years, ought in equity to have been paid.—This matter, however, Mr. Glover is to ſettle with Mrs. Curſette in the other world.

Newhaven is celebrated for having given the name of *pumkin-heads* to all the New-Englanders. It originated from the Blue

Laws, which enjoin every male to have his hair cut round by a cap. When caps were not to be had, they ſubſtituted the hard ſhell of a pumkin, which being put on the head every Saturday, the hair is cut by the ſhell all round the head. Whatever religious virtue is ſuppoſed to be derived from this cuſtom, I know not; but there is much prudence in it: firſt, it prevents the hair from ſnarling;—ſecondly, it ſaves the uſe of combs, bags, and ribbons;—thirdly, the hair cannot incommode the eyes by falling over them;—and, fourthly, ſuch perſons as have loſt their ears for hereſy, and other wickedneſs, cannot conceal their misfortune and diſgrace.

Cruelty and godlineſs were, perhaps, never ſo well reconciled by any people, as by thoſe of Newhaven, who are alike renowned for both. The unhappy ſtory of Deacon Potter has eternized the infamy of their Blue Laws, and almoſt annexed

nexed to their town the name of Sodom. The Deacon had borne the beſt of characters many years: he was the peace-maker, and an enemy to perſecution; but he was grown old, was rich, and had a young wife. His young wife had an inclination for a young huſband, and had waited with impatience for the death of her old one, till at length, reſolving, if poſſible, to accelerate the attainment of her wiſhes, ſhe complained to the Magiſtrate, that her huſband did not render her due benevolence. The Judge took no notice of what ſhe ſaid. She then ſwore that her huſband was an apoſtate; and that he was fonder of his mare, bitch, and cow, than of her; in which allegations ſhe was joined by her ſon. The Deacon was brought to his trial, condemned, executed with the beaſts, and with them alſo buried in one common grave. Dr. Mather, with his uſual quantity of faith, ſpeaks of the Deacon as verily

guilty, as having had a fair, legal, and candid trial, and convicted on good and ſcriptural evidence. I am willing to allow the Doctor as much ſincerity as faith. He had his information from the party who condemned the Deacon; but there are manuſcripts, which I have ſeen, that ſtate the matter thus: Deacon Potter was hanged for hereſy and apoſtacy, which conſiſted in ſhewing hoſpitality to ſtrangers, who came to his houſe in the night, among whom were Quakers, Anabaptiſts, and Adamites. This was forbidden by the Blue Laws, which puniſhed for the firſt and ſecond offence with fines, and with death for the third. His wife and ſon betrayed him for hiding the ſpies, and ſending them away in peace. The court was contented with calling his complicated crimes beaſtiality; his widow, with a new huſband; and the ſon, with the eſtate; while the public were deceived by the arts of a wicked junto.——I have related

related this ſtory to ſhew the danger of admitting a wife to give evidence againſt her huſband, according to the Blue Laws; and to caution all readers againſt crediting too much the hiſtorians of New-England, who, either from motives of fear or emolument, have, in numberleſs inſtances, deſignedly diſguiſed or concealed the truth. Such perſons, whoſe ſtubborn principles would not bend to this yoke, were not ſuffered to ſearch the colonial records; and thoſe who have dared to intimate that all was not right among the firſt ſettlers, have been compelled to leave the country with the double loſs of character and property.

To Newhaven now belongs YALE COLLEGE, of which I have promiſed my readers a particular account. It was originally, as already mentioned, a ſchool, eſtabliſhed by the Rev. Thomas Peters, at Saybrook, who left it his library at his death. It ſoon acquired the diſtinguiſh-

ing appellation of *Schola Illuſtris*; and, about 1700, was honoured by the General Aſſembly with a charter of incorporation, converting it into a college, under the denomination of *Yale* College, in compliment to a gentleman of that name, governor of one of the Weſt-India iſlands, and its greateſt benefactor. The charter conſtitutes a preſident, three tutors, twelve overſeers, and a treaſurer; and exempts it from any viſitation of the Governor or Aſſembly, in order to ſecure it againſt the controul of a King's Governor, in caſe one ſhould ever be appointed. I have already obſerved, that a power of conferring Bachelors and Maſters degrees was granted by the charter; and that the corporation have *thought proper* to aſſume that of conferring Doctors degrees. By the œconomical regulations of the College, there are, a profeſſor in divinity, mathematics, and natural philoſophy; and four claſſes of ſtudents, which were

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at firſt attended by the preſident and the three tutors; but the preſident has long been excuſed that laborious taſk, and a fourth tutor appointed in his ſtead. Each claſs has its proper tutor. Once a week the preſident examines them all in the public hall, ſuperintends their diſputations and ſcientific demonſtrations, and, if any ſtudent appears to be negligent, orders him under the care of a ſpecial tutor; a ſtigma which ſeldom fails of producing its intended effect. Greek, Latin, Geography, Hiſtory, and Logic, are well taught in this ſeminary; but it ſuffers for want of tutors to teach the Hebrew, French, and Spaniſh languages. Oratory, muſic, and politeneſs, are equally neglected here and in the colony The ſtudents attend prayers, every morning and evening, at ſix o'clock. The preſident, profeſſor, or one of the tutors, reads and expounds a chapter; then a pſalm is ſung, after which follows a prayer. This finiſhed, each

each claſs repairs to its tutor. The hours of ſtudy are notified by the College bell, and every ſcholar ſeen out of his room is liable to a fine, which is ſeldom excuſed. The amuſements for the evenings are, not cards, dancing, or muſic, but reading and compoſition. They are allowed two hours play with the foot-ball every day. Thus cooped up for four years, they underſtand books better than men or manners. They then are admitted to their Bachelors degree, having undergone a public examination in the arts and ſciences. Three years afterwards they are admitted to their Maſters degree, provided they have ſupported moral characters. The ceremony uſed by the preſident on theſe occaſions is to deliver a book to the intended Maſter in Arts, ſaying, "Admitto te ad ſecundum Gradum in "Artibus, pro more Academiarum in "Anglia; tradoque tibi hunc librum, unà "cum poteſtate publicè prælegendi quotieſcunque

"cunque ad hoc munus evocatus fueris." For Bachelors the ſame, *mutatis mutandis*. A diploma on vellum with the ſeal of the College is given to each Maſter, and ſigned by the preſident and ſix fellows or overſeers. The firſt degrees of Maſters were given in 1702. The ſtudents of late years have amounted to about 180. They dine in the common-hall at four tables, and the tutors and graduates at a fifth. The number of the whole is about 200.

Yale College is built with wood, and painted of a ſky colour; is 160 feet long, and three ſtories high, beſides garrets. In 1754, another building, of brick, 100 feet long, and alſo three ſtories high, excluſive of the garrets, with double rooms and a double front, was added, and called Connecticut Hall. About 1760, a very elegant chapel and library were erected, with brick, under one roof. But it cannot be ſuppoſed the latter is to be

be compared with the Vatican or Bodleian. It conſiſts of 8 or 10,000 volumes in all branches of literature, but wants modern books; though there is a tolerable ſufficiency, if the corporation would permit what they call Biſhops and Arminian books to be read. *Ames's Medulla* is allowed, while *Grotius de Veritate Religionis* is denied. It was lately preſented with a new and valuable apparatus for experimental philoſophy. The whole library and apparatus were given by various perſons, chiefly Engliſh.

The General Aſſembly have endowed this College with large tracts of land, which, duly cultivated, will ſoon ſupport the ample eſtabliſhment of an Univerſity; but, even at preſent, I may truly ſay, Yale College exceeds in the number, and perhaps in the learning, of its ſcholars, all others in Britiſh America.

This ſeminary was, in 1717, removed from Saybrook to Newhaven; the extra-

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ordinary cauſe of which tranſition, I ſhall here lay before the reader.

Saybrook dominion had been ſettled by Puritans of ſome moderation and decency. They had not joined with Maſſachuſets-Bay, Hertford, and Newhaven, in ſending home agents to aſſiſt in the ~~murder~~ punishment of Charles I. and the ſubverſion of the Lords and Biſhops:—they had received Hooker's heretics, and ſheltered the apoſtates from Davenport's millenarian ſyſtem:—they had ſhewn an inclination to be dependent on the Mother-country, and had not wholly anathematized the church of England. In ſhort, the people of Hertford and Newhaven ſuſpected that Saybrook was not truly proteſtant; that it had a paſſion for the *leeks and onions of Egypt*; and that the youth belonging to them in the *Schola Illuſtris* were in great danger of imbibing its lukewarmneſs. A vote, therefore, paſſed at Hertford, to remove the

the college to Weathersfield, where the *leaks and onions of Egypt* would not be thought of; and another at Newhaven, that it ſhould be removed to that town, where Chriſt hadeſtabliſhed his dominion from ſea to ſea, and where he was to begin his millenarian reign. About 1715, Hertford, in order to carry its vote into execution, prepared teams, boats, and a mob, and privately ſet off for Saybrook, and ſeized upon the college apparatus, library, and ſtudents, and carried all to Weathersfield. This redoubled the jealouſy of the ſaints at Newhaven, who thereupon determined to fulfil their vote; and, accordingly, having collected a mob ſufficient for their enterprize, they ſet out for Weathersfield, where they ſeized by ſurprize the ſtudents, library, &c. &c. But on the road to Newhaven they were overtaken by the Hertford mob, who, however, after an unhappy battle, were obliged to retire with only part of the library

brary and part of the ſtudents. Hence ſprung two colleges out of one. The quarrel increaſed daily, every body expecting a war more bloody than that of Saſſacus; and, no doubt, ſuch would have been the caſe, had not the peace-makers of Maſſachuſets-Bay interpoſed with their uſual friendſhip, and adviſed their dear friends of Hertford to give up the college to Newhaven. This was accordingly done in 1717, to the great joy of the crafty Maſſachuſets, who always greedily ſeek their own proſperity, tho' it ruin their beſt neighbours. The college being thus fixed forty miles farther weſt from Boſton than it was before, tended greatly to the intereſt of Harvard College; for Saybrook and Hertford, out *of pure grief* *, ſent their ſons to Harvard, inſtead of the college at Newhaven. This quarrel con-

* *Pure grief* means, in New-England, *anger* and *revenge*.

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tinued till 1764, when it ſubſided in a grand continental conſociation of miniſters, which met at Newhaven to conſult the ſpiritual good of the Mohawks and other Indian tribes, the beſt method of preſerving the American vine, and the proteſtant, *independent liberty of America*: —a good preparatory to rebellion againſt Great Britain.

The Rev. Mr. Naphthali Dagget is the fourth preſident of Yale College ſince its removal to Newhaven. He is an excellent Greek and Latin ſcholar, and reckoned a good Calviniſtic divine. Tho' a ſtranger to European politeneſs, yet, poſſeſſing a mild temper and affable diſpoſition, the exerciſe of his authority is untinctured with haughtineſs. Indeed, he ſeems to have too much candour, and too little bigotry, to pleaſe the corporation, and retain his poſt, many years.

The Rev. Mr. Nehemiah Strong, the college profeſſor, is alſo of an amiable

able temper, and merits the appointment.

Were the corporation leſs rigid, and more inclined to tolerate ſome reaſonable amuſements and polite accompliſhments among the youth, they would greatly add to the fame and increaſe of the college; and the ſtudents would not be known by every ſtranger to have been educated in Connecticut. The diſadvantage under which they at preſent appear, from the want of addreſs, is much to be regretted.

Brainford, *Guildford*, and *Milford*, are much alike.

Guildford is laid out in ſquares after the manner of Newhaven, 20 of which are built upon. The church and two meetings ſtand on the center ſquare. One of the meetings is very grand, with a ſteeple, bell, and clock. The pariſhes in it are eight, three of them epiſcopal.

This town gave birth to the Reverend

Samuel Johnſon, D. D. who was the firſt epiſcopal miniſter in Connecticut, and the firſt preſident of King's College in New-York. He was educated and became a tutor in the college at Saybrook; was an ornament to his native country, and much eſteemed for his humanity and learning.

The Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, in a ſermon he preached in the great meeting, gave the character of the people of Guildford in 1740. His text was, *Anoint mine eyes with eye-ſalve.* After pointing out what was *not* the true eye-ſalve, he ſaid, "I will tell you what *is* the true "eye-ſalve:—it is faith—it is grace—it "is ſimplicity—it is virtue—it is virgin's "water———Ah, Lord! where can "they be found?—Perhaps, not in this "grand aſſembly."

I have frequently quoted the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield,—without that ludicrous intention which, poſſibly, the reader may

may ſuſpect me of. I admire his general character, his great diſcernment, his knowledge of mankind, his piety, his goodneſs of heart, his generoſity, and hatred of perſecution, though I think his zeal was ſometimes too fervent. I ever viewed him as an inſtrument of heaven, as the greateſt Boanarges and bleſſing America ever knew. He turned the profligate to God; he rouzed the lukewarm chriſtrian; he tamed the wild fanatic, and made Felix tremble. It is true, he has alſo made wiſemen mad; but this is the natural effect of the word, which is the ſavour of life and the ſavour of death at one and the ſame time. New-England, before his coming, was but the ſlaughter-houſe for heretics. He was admired by the oppreſſed epiſcopalians, the trembling quakers, the bleeding baptiſts, &c. &c. He was followed by all ſects and parties, except the *Sober Diſſenters*, who thought their craft in danger. He made *peace*

where was no peace; and even his *enemies praiſed him in the gate.*——Whitefield did what could not have been done without the aid of an omnipotent arm; he planted charity in New-England, of which the increaſe has been a thouſand fold.—He is landed *where the wicked ceaſe from troubling*; where his works of faith, love, and charity, cloath him; and where the Glory of Eternity bleſſes him with a welcome ineffably tranſporting.—May his virtues be imitated; his imperfections forgiven; and his happineſs obtained by all!——

Wallingford, *Durham*, *Waterbury*, and *Darby*, finiſh the county of Newhaven. ——*Wallingford* is the beſt of the four: it lies on Quinnipiack river, and forms eight pariſhes, two of which are epiſcopal. The Town-ſtreet is one mile long, and the houſes ſtand pretty thick on both ſides. The church, and two meetings, one with a ſteeple, bell, and clock, ſtand in the middle

middle of the ſtreet.—The grave-ſtones point out the characters of the firſt ſettlers. An extract from one follows :

" Here lies the body of Corporal Moſes Atwater,
" who left England in 1660, to enjoy liberty
" of conſcience in a howling wilderneſs."

The ſecond county in the kingdom of Quinnipiog is Fairfield. It is ſituated weſt of Oſootonoc river, and contains nine townſhips : five of which lie on the ſea, and reſemble one another ; and on the back of them are ſituated the four others, which alſo have a mutual reſemblance. The ſoil is rich and uneven : the chief productions, excellent wheat, ſalt-hay, and flax. Thoſe townſhips which lie on the ſea, are *Fairfield*, *Norwalk*, *Stamford*, *Greenwich*, and *Stratford*. This laſt I ſhall deſcribe.

Stratford lies on the weſt bank of Oſootonoc river, having the ſea or Sound on the ſouth. There are three ſtreets run-

ning north and ſouth, and ten eaſt and weſt. The beſt is one mile long. On the center ſquare ſtand a meeting with a ſteeple and bell, and a church with a ſteeple, bell, clock, and organ. It is a beautiful place, and from the water has an appearance not inferior to that of Canterbury. Of ſix pariſhes contained in it, three are epiſcopal. The people are ſaid to be the moſt polite of any in the colony, owing to the ſingular moderation of the town in admitting, latterly, Europeans to ſettle among them. Many perſons come alſo from the iſlands, and ſouthern provinces, for the benefit of their health.

Here was erected the firſt epiſcopal church in Connecticut. A very extraordinary ſtory is told concerning the occaſion of it, which I ſhall give the reader the particulars of, the people being as ſanguine in their belief of it as they are of the ſhip's ſailing over Newhaven.

An ancient religious rite, called the Pawwaw,

Pawwaw, was annually celebrated by the Indians; and commonly laſted ſeveral hours every night for two or three weeks. About 1690, they convened to perform it on Stratford point, near the town. During the nocturnal ceremony, the Engliſh ſaw, or imagined they ſaw, devils riſe out of the ſea wrapped up in ſheets of flame, and flying round the Indian camp, while the Indians were ſcreaming, cutting, and proſtrating themſelves before their ſuppoſed fiery gods. In the midſt of the tumult, the devils darted in among them, ſeized ſeveral, and mounted with them into the air; the cries and groans iſſuing from whom quieted the reſt. In the morning, the limbs of Indians, all ſhrivelled, and covered with ſulphur, were found in different parts of the town. Aſtoniſhed and terrified at theſe ſpectacles, the people of Stratford began to think the devils would take up their abode among them, and called together all the mini-

ſters in the neighbourhood, to exorciſe and lay them. The miniſters began and carried on their warfare with prayer, hymns, and abjuration; but the pawwaws continued, and the devils would not obey. The inhabitants were about to quit the town, when Mr. Nell ſpoke and ſaid, "I would to God that Mr. Viſey, the epiſcopal miniſter at New-York, was here; for he would expel all theſe evil ſpirits." They laughed at his advice; but, on his reminding them of the little maid who directed Naaman to a cure for his leproſy, they voted him their permiſſion to bring Mr. Viſey at the next pawwaw. Mr. Viſey attended accordingly, and as the pawwaw commenced with howlings and hoops, Mr. Viſey read portions of the holy ſcripture, litany, &c. The ſea was put into great motion; the pawwaw ſtopped; the Indians diſperſed; and never more held a pawwaw in Stratford. The inhabitants

were

were ſtruck with wonder at this event, and held a conference to diſcover the reaſon why the devils and pawwawers had obeyed the prayers of one miniſter, and had paid no regard to thoſe of fifty. Some thought that the reading the holy ſcripture, others that the litany and Lord's prayer,—ſome again that the epiſcopal power of the miniſter, and others that all united were the means of obtaining the heavenly bleſſing they had received. Thoſe who believed that the holy ſcriptures and litany were effectual againſt the devil and his legions, declared for the church of England; while the majority aſcribed their deliverance to a complot between the devil and the epiſcopal miniſter, with a view to overthrow Chriſt's vine planted in New-England. Each party acted with more zeal than prudence. The church, however, increaſed, though oppreſſed by more perſecutions and calamities than were ever experienced by puritans

ritans from biſhops and pawwawers. Even the uſe of the Bible, the Lord's prayer, the litany, or any part of the prayer-book, was forbidden; nay, miniſters taught from their pulpits, according to the Blue Laws, "that the lovers of Zion had better put their ears to the mouth of hell, and learn from the whiſpers of the devils, than read the biſhops books;" while the churchmen, like Michael the archangel contending with the devil about the body of Moſes, dared not bring againſt them a railing accuſation.—But this was not all. When the epiſcopalians had collected timber for a church, they found the devils had not left the town, but only changed their habitations—had left the ſavages and entered into fanatics and wood. In the night before the church was to be begun, the timber ſet up a country-dance, ſkipping about, and flying in the air, with as much agility and ſulphureous ſtench as ever

ever the devils had exhibited around the camp of the Indian pawwawers. This alarming circumſtance would have ruined the credit of the church, had not the epiſcopalians ventured to look into the phenomenon, and found the timber to have been bored with augers, charged with gun powder, and fired off by matches :— a diſcovery, however, of bad conſequence in one reſpect---it has prevented the annaliſts of New-England from publiſhing this among the reſt of their miracles. About 1720, the patience and ſufferings of the epiſcopalians, who were then but a handful, procured them ſome friends even among their perſecutors ; and thoſe friends condemned the cruelty exerciſed over the churchmen, quakers, and anabaptiſts, in conſequence of which they firſt felt the effects of thoſe gentle weapons, the New-England whiſperings and backbitings ; and at length were openly ſtigmatized as Arminians and enemies of the

the American vine.—This conduct of the *Sober Diſſenters* increaſed the *grievous ſin* of moderation; and near twenty of their miniſters, at the head of whom was Dr. Cutler, preſident of Yale College, declared, on a public commencement, for the church of England. Hereupon, the General Aſſembly and Conſociation, finding their comminations likely to blaſt the American vine, inſtantly had recourſe to flattery, larded over with tears and promiſes, by which means they recovered all the ſeceſſors, but four, viz. Dr. Cutler, Dr. Johnſon, Mr. Whitmore, and Mr. Brown, who repaired to England for holy orders. —Dr. Cutler had the misfortune to ſpend his life and great abilities in the fanatical, ungrateful, and factious town of Boſton, where he went through fiery trials, ſhining brighter and brighter, till he was delivered from New-England perſecution, and landed where *the wicked ceaſe from troubling*.—Dr. Johnſon, from his natural

ral diſpoſition, and not for the ſake of gain, took pity on the neglected church at Stratford, where for 50 years he fought the beaſt of Epheſus with great ſucceſs. The Doctor was under the bountiful protection of the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in foreign parts, incorporated by William III. to ſave from the rage of republicaniſm, heatheniſm, and fanaticiſm, all ſuch members of the church of England as were ſettled in our American colonies, factories and plantations, beyond the ſea.—To the foreſight of that monarch, to the generous care and protection of that ſociety, under God, are owing all the loyalty, decency, chriſtianity undefiled with blood, which glimmer in New-England.——Dr. Johnſon, having ſettled at Stratford among a neſt of zealots, and not being aſſaſſinated, other diſſenting miniſters were induced to join themſelves to the church of England, among whom were Mr. Beach and Mr. Punderſon.

Punderſon. Thoſe gentlemen could not be wheedled off by the Aſſembly and Conſociation; they perſevered, and obtained names among the Literati that will never be forgotten.

The four remaining towns of Fairfield county, viz. *Newtown*, *Reading*, *Danbury*, and *Ridgfield*, lie behind the towns on the ſea. I ſhall deſcribe the beſt of them, which is,

Danbury. It has much the appearance of Croydon; and forms five pariſhes, one of which is epiſcopal, and another Sandemanian; a third is called Baſtard Sandemanian, becauſe the miniſter refuſes to put away his wife, who is a ſecond wife. This town was the reſidence, and has now the tomb, of the learned and ingenious Rev. Mr. Sandeman, well known in the literary world. He was the faireſt and moſt candid Calviniſt that ever wrote in the Engliſh language, allowing the natural conſequences of all his propoſitions.

ſitions. He taught that a Biſhop muſt be the huſband of one wife; that is, he muſt be married before he was ordained; and, if he loſt his wife, he could not marry a ſecond: that a Biſhop might dreſs with ruffles, a red coat and ſword; that all the converted brothers and ſiſters, at their coming into church, ought to ſalute with an holy kiſs; that all true chriſtians would obey their earthly king: for which tenets, eſpecially the laſt, the *Sober Diſſenters* of Connecticut held him to be an heretic.

It is ſtrikingly remarkable, that near one half of the people of the Dominion of Newhaven are epiſcopalians, though it was firſt ſettled by the moſt violent of puritans, who claimed ſo much liberty to themſelves that they left none for others. The General Aſſembly computed that the church of England profeſſors amounted to one-third of the whole colony in 1770.

Hence

Hence has ariſen a queſtion, how it came paſs, that the church of England increaſed rapidly in Connecticut, and but ſlowly in Maſſachuſets-Bay and Rhode-Iſland? The reaſon appears obvious to me. It is eaſier to turn fanatical farmers from their bigotry, than to convert fanatical merchants, ſmugglers, and fiſhermen. Pride and gain prevent the two firſt, and ignorance the laſt, from *worſhiping the Lord in the beauty of Holineſs*. The General Aſſembly of Rhode-Iſland never ſupported any religion; nay, leſt religion ſhould chance to prevail, they made a law that every-one might do what was right in his own eyes, with this proviſo, that no one ſhould be holden to pay a note, bond, or vote, made or given to ſupport the Goſpel. Thus, barbariſm, inhumanity, and infidelity, muſt have over-run the colony, had not its good ſituation for trade invited Europeans to ſettle therein.—As to the people of Maſſachuſets-

ſachuſets-Bay, they, indeed, had the higheſt pretenſions to religion; but then it was ſo impregnated with chicane, mercantile policy, and inſincerity, that infidelity got the better of fanaticiſm, and religion was ſecretly looked upon as a trick of ſtate. Connecticut was ſettled by people who preferred the arts and ſciences to the amuſements which render Europe polite; whence it has happened that there boys and girls are at once amuſed and improved with reading, writing, and cyphering, every winter's night, whilſt thoſe in the neighbouring colonies poliſh themſelves at cards, balls, and maſquerades. In Connecticut, zeal, though erroneous, is ſincere: each ſect believes religion to be a ſubſtantial good; and fanaticiſm and prejudice have turned it into ſuperſtition, which is ſtronger than reaſon or the laws of humanity. Thus, it is very obſervable, that, when any perſons conform to the church of England, they

leave neither their ſuperſtition nor zeal at the meetings; they retrench only fanaticiſm and cruelty, put on *bowels of mercy*, and pity thoſe in error. It ſhould be added, that every town in the colony is by law obliged to ſupport a grammar-ſchool, and every pariſh an Engliſh ſchool. From experience, therefore, I judge, that ſuperſtition with knowledge and ſincerity is more favourable to religion than ſuperſtition with ignorance and inſincerity; and that it is for this reaſon the church thrives in Connecticut, and exiſts only in the other New-England provinces. In further ſupport of my opinion, I ſhall recite the words of the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, in his firſt tour through America, in 1740. He then found the people of Connecticut wiſe in polemical divinity, and told them that *much learning had made them mad*; that he wiſhed to leave them with, "*ſleep on and take your reſt*

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in the Bible, in Baxter, Gouge, and Bunyan, without the knowledge of Biſhops books."

Perſons who ſuppoſe churchmen in Connecticut poſſeſſed of leſs zeal and ſincerity than the various ſects among the diſſenters, are under a miſtake; for they have voluntarily preferred the church under every human diſcouragement, and ſuffered perſecution rather than perſecute. Conducting themſelves upon this truly chriſtian, though impolitic principle, they have, in the ſpace of ſixty years, humanized above ſixty thouſand puritans, who had ever been hating and perſecuting one another: and though the General Aſſembly and Conſociation are alarmed at the progreſs of chriſtian moderation, yet many individuals among them, perceiving that perſecution declines whereever the church prevails, bleſs God for its growth; whilſt the reſt, more zealous for dominion, and the politics of their an-

ceſtors the regicides, than for the goſpel of peace and love, compaſs ſea and land to export and diffuſe that intolerant ſpirit which overthrew the eaſtern church, and has curſed the weſtern. For this purpoſe, they have ſent New-England miniſters as miſſionaries to the ſouthern colonies, to rouſe them out of their religious and political ignorance; and, what is very aſtoniſhing, they ſucceeded beſt with the epiſcopal clergy, whoſe immorality, vanity, or love of ſelf-government, or ſome leſs valuable principle, induced them to join the diſſenters of New-England againſt an American Biſhop, from a pure intention, they ſaid, of preſerving the church of England in America. If their reward be not pointed out in the fable of the Fox and Crane, they will be more fortunate than moſt men. Other miſſionaries were diſperſed among the Six Nations of Indians, who were under the care of the clergy and ſchoolmaſters of the Society for the Propagation

what can be leſs valuable?

pagation of the Goſpel. There, for a time, wonders were effected; the Indians were made drunk with zeal. But when their fanaticiſm was abated, they curſed the proteſtant religion, and ordered the miniſters of all denominations to depart out of their country in a fixed time, on pain of death. Another band of ſaints went to Nova Scotia, to convert the unconverted under the clergy appointed by the Biſhop of London; among whom, however, meeting with little encouragement, they *ſhook off the duſt of their feet againſt them*, and returned home. Theſe peregrinations, the world was taught to believe, were undertaken ſolely to advance the intereſts of religion; but *righteouſneſs and* PEACE *have not* yet *kiſſed each other* in New-England: and, beſides, the pious pretences of the *Sober Diſſenters* ill accorded with their bitter revilings of the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel, for ſending clergymen to promote the

ſpiritual good of the churchmen among them.

It is worthy of eſpecial notice, that, among all the epiſcopal clergy hitherto ſettled in Connecticut, only one of them has been accuſed, even by their enemies, of a ſcandalous life, or of any violation of the moral law. They have exerciſed more patience, reſignation, and ſelf-denial, under their various trials, fatigues, and oppreſſions, than can be paralleled elſewhere in the preſent century. The countenance of the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in foreign Parts, and an allowance of about 650*l.* per ann. between 18 of them, have proved the means of averting from the profeſſors of the church of England that rigour which has conſtantly marked the conduct of the General Aſſembly and Conſociation towards anabaptiſts, quakers, &c. &c. Had the biſhops ſhewn as much concern for the welfare of the church of England

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in America as the Society has done, they would have prevented many reproaches being caſt upon them by the diſſenters as hireling ſhepherds, and have ſecured the affections of the American clergy, in every province, to themſelves, to their King, and the Britiſh government. If the religion of the church of England ought to have been tolerated and ſupported in America, (which, conſidering the lukewarmneſs of the biſhops in general, even ſince the Reſtoration of Charles II. ſeems to have been a dubious point,) policy and juſtice ſhould long ago have induced the King and Parliament of Great-Britain to have ſent biſhops to America, that churchmen might at leaſt have been upon an equal footing with diſſenters. Againſt American biſhops I have never heard of any objection, either from the diſſenters, or the epiſcopal clergy ſouth of Delaware river, ſo powerful as the following, "That the church of Eng-

we could spare them all!!

land increaſes in America, without biſhops, faſter than it does in England, where are biſhops to ſpare." If the diſſenters in America err not in advancing as a fact, that, ſince 1715, the church of England under biſhops has been upon the decline, and the proteſtant diſſenters upon the increaſe, in England; it may be but natural to ſuppoſe that the diſſenters in America wiſh to have the Engliſh biſhops reſident there, and the diſſenters in England to retain them, as they appear to be ſo beneficial towards the growth of the diſſenting intereſt here: and ſo the diſſenters in both countries diſputing about the reſidence of the biſhops, merely becauſe the abſence of them is diſadvantageous to the one, and their preſence advantageous to the other, would it not be the beſt way of ſtrengthening the intereſt of both thoſe parties, and weakening that of the church of England, to retain half the biſhops in England,

England, and ſend the other half to America? Againſt this plan, ſurely, no diſſenter could object: it will neither add to the national expence, nor to the diſadvantage of England or America; ſince it promiſes to be equally ſerviceable to the proteſtant diſſenting intereſt on both ſides the Atlantic, and will reconcile a difference between the proteſtant diſſenters that has been ſuppoſed in New-England to be the reaſon of biſhops not being ſent to above one million of epiſcopalians in America, who are left like ſheep in a wilderneſs without a ſhepherd, to the great danger of the proteſtant diſſenting religion in thoſe parts. Nor can it be apprehended that this plan of dividing the biſhops will meet with the diſapprobation of the epiſcopalians, except a few licentious clergymen in the American ſouthern colonies, who dread their Lordſhips ſober advice and coercive power.

Of all the wonders of the Engliſh church,

church, the greateſt is, that the rulers of it ſhould hold epiſcopacy to be an inſtitution of Chriſt, and that the Goſpel is to be ſpread among all nations, and, at the ſame time, ſhould refuſe the American churchmen a biſhop, and the fanatics and heathen all opportunities of enjoying the Goſpel diſpenſation in the purity and luſtre with which it ſhines in the mother-country. If biſhops are neceſſary, let America have them; if they are not neceſſary, let them be extirpated from the face of the earth: for no one can be an advocate for their exiſtence merely for the ſupport of pomp, pride, and inſolence, either in England or America.

The Engliſh and Dutch have always kept their colonies under a ſtate of religious perſecution, while the French and Spaniards have acted with generoſity in that reſpect towards theirs. The Dutch preſbyterians in New-York were held in ſubordination to the claſſis of Amſterdam, till,

absurd falsehood.

till, a few years ſince, they diſcovered that ſubjection to be anticonſtitutional and oppreſſive; upon which a majority of the miniſters, in their cœtus, erected a claſſis for the ordination of miniſters, and the government of their churches, in defiance of the eccleſiaſtical judicatory at Amſterdam. Mr. Smith, in his Hiſtory of that province, p. 252, juſtifies this ſchiſm upon the following ground: "The expence," ſays he, "attending the ordination of their candidates in Holland, "and the reference of their diſputes to "the claſſis of Amſterdam, is very conſiderable; and with what conſequences, "the interruption of their correſpondence "with the European Dutch would be "attended, in caſe of a war, well deſerves their conſideration." Nevertheleſs, Mr. Smith agrees with his proteſtant diſſenting neighbours, that the American epiſcopalians ſuffered no hardſhip in being obliged to incur the ſame expence

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in croſſing the Atlantic for ordination. If the Dutch are juſtifiable in their ſchiſm, I cannot perceive why the American epiſcopalians might not be juſtified in a like ſchiſm from the biſhop of London. Had the epiſcopalians as little averſion to ſchiſm as the proteſtant diſſenters, the clergy north of the Delaware would, in 1765, have got rid of their regard for an Engliſh, and accepted of a Greek biſhop, whom they could have ſupported for half the expence their candidates were at in going to England for ordination. But they were ſaid by ſome to be conſcientious men, while others ſaid they were *Iſſachar's ſons, couching down beneath their burthens.*

To proceed in my deſcription of the country:

Connecticut is ſituated between 41 and 42 deg. N. lat. and between 72 and 73 deg. 50 min. W. long. from London.

London. Notwithſtanding, from this latitude, New-London lies 600 miles nearer the line than the capital of England, the winter ſets in there a month before it does here; and not only continues longer, but is more ſevere. This extraordinary coldneſs is ſaid by naturaliſts to ariſe from the vaſt frozen lakes and rivers, and mountains eternally covered with ſnow, throughout the northernmoſt parts of America. The mountains may have their ſhare in producing this effect; but I am apt to think the lakes and rivers have a contrary influence. If I aſk, why lands bordering upon them are three weeks earlier in their productions than lands ten miles diſtant, it will readily be imputed to the warmth of the air, occaſioned by the reflection of the ſun's rays from the water. On the ſame principle, I argue, that the rays of the ſun, multiplied and reflected by ice alſo, will render the air warmer. But it may be further

further ſaid, that the cauſe is, perhaps, to be aſcribed to the ſoil's being more ſandy and looſe near a lake or river, and, therefore, naturally warmer, than that which is remote and not ſandy. I reply, that there are looſe, ſandy plains, 20 miles off any lake or river, three weeks later in their products, and very perceptibly colder than lands upon them. It would be to no purpoſe to urge, that the damps and fogs from unfrozen lakes, rivers, &c. affect the diſtant, but not the adjacent country; becauſe, I apprehend, there are no unfrozen lakes, rivers, &c. in the north of America in winter. Beſides, if there were, the miſts ariſing from them would naturally be intercepted by the firſt mountains or foreſts they approached. But I pretend to little philoſophical knowledge in theſe matters: I write from experience; and can thence, moreover, aſſert, that mountains with ſnow upon them are not ſo cold as they would be without it; and

that

that mountains, covered with trees, are the coldeſt of all places, but, without trees, are not ſo cold as foreſts on plains. I am clearly of opinion, therefore, that not the lakes or rivers, but the infinite quantity of timber in the immenſe regions of North America, whether upon mountains or not, is the grand cauſe of the coldneſs of the winters in Connecticut. I will add, moreover, in ſupport of my argument, that beaſts, in the coldeſt weather, are obſerved to quit the woods and woody mountains, for lakes, rivers, and the cultivated open country; and that Connecticut, having now loſt moſt of its timber, is by no means ſo intenſely cold in winter as it was forty years ago, and as Suſquehanna is at preſent, a wilderneſs in the ſame latitude. —The ſnow and ice commonly cover the country, without rains, from Chriſtmas to March; then rains, attended with a boiſterous wind from the north and eaſt, melt

× this is probable.

melt the ſnow, which converting brooks into rivers, and rivers into ſeas, in four or five days the ice is rent from its groaning banks, in ſuch mighty ſheets, as ſhake the earth for 20 miles. Nature being thus in convulſions, the winds turn her fits into madneſs, by driving ice upon ice, whoſe thunders ceaſe not till the ocean ſwallows up the whole.——It is but natural to ſuppoſe, that the ſummers in Connecticut are much hotter than thoſe in England; nevertheleſs, from the clearneſs and ſerenity of the ſky, the climate is healthy both to natives and foreigners of all nations. Connecticut is an holſpital for the invalids of the Iſlands and ſouthern provinces; but, in general, they no ſooner amend their own conſtitutions, than the peſtilence, which rages in that of the province, drives them to Rhode-Iſland or New-York, where fanaticiſm is loſt in irreligion.—The people of Connecticut reckon time almoſt five hours later than the Engliſh.

Engliſh. The longeſt day conſiſts of fifteen hours, the ſhorteſt of nine.—The brightneſs of the ſun, moon, and ſtars, together with their reverberating rays on ice, ſnow, waters, trees, mountains, pebbles, and flat ſtones, dazzle and weaken the eyes of the New-Englanders to ſuch a degree, that, in general, they are obliged to uſe glaſſes before they are fifty years of age. For the moſt part, alſo, they have bad teeth, which have been aſcribed to the extreme heats and colds of ſummer and winter; but, as the Indians and negroes, in the ſame climate, have remarkably good teeth, it may be ſaid, with great reaſon, that the many indulgences of the one, and the temperance of the other, and not the heats and colds, are the cauſes of bad and good teeth.

SOIL and PRODUCE.--The ſoil is various in different parts of the province; in ſome black, in others brown, and elſewhere red, but all rich. Some plains are ſandy,

and of a whitiſh colour; and theſe produce rye, beans, and Indian corn. The meadows and low lands are excellent paſturage, and yield great crops of hay. The hills and uplands have a rich, deep ſoil, but are ſubject to droughts in July and Auguſt, which in many places are relieved by water drawn from rivers, ponds, and brooks, in troughs and ditches. The crops of European grain are always good, when the ſnow, which in general is the only manure, covers the earth from December to March. One acre commonly yields from 20 to 30 buſhels of wheat; of Indian corn, from 40 to 60 buſhels on river land, and from 30 to 40 on hilly land: but it is to be obſerved, that one buſhel of it raiſed on hilly land weighs 13lb. more than a buſhel raiſed on river land. All European grains flouriſh here; and the graſs is as thick and much longer than in England. Maiſe, or Indian corn, is planted in hillocks three feet apart, five kernels

nels and two pumkin-ſeeds in a hillock; and between the hillocks are planted ten beans in a hillock: ſo that, if the ſeaſon prove favourable, the beans or the pumkins are worth as much as the corn. If, from an acre, the crop of corn be 20 buſhels, add the beans and pumkins, and it will be equal to 60 buſhels: ſo, if there be 60 buſhels of corn, a proportionate growth of beans and pumkins will render the product equal to 180 buſhels. One man plants an acre in a day; in three days he hoes the ſame three times; and ſix days more ſuffice for plowing and gathering the crop. For theſe ten days work, the price is thirty ſhillings; and allowing 10*s.* for the uſe of the land, the whole expence is 2*l.* and no more, whilſt the corn is worth two ſhillings per buſhel. The gain is ſeldom leſs than 300, and oftener 600 per cent. It is thus that the poor man becomes rich in a few years, if prudent and induſtrious.—

The limits of Connecticut are reckoned to comprize 5,000,000 acres, half of which are ſuppoſed to be ſwallowed up in rivers, ponds, creeks, and roads. The inhabitants are eſtimated at 200,000; ſo that there remain but 12½ acres for each individual. Let it now be conſidered, that the people buy no proviſions from other provinces, but, on the contrary, export full as much as they conſume, and it will appear that each perſon has in fact only 6¼ acres for his own ſupport, two of which muſt be ſet apart for the growth of wood, the only fuel of the colony. Should I not then be juſtified in ſaying that Connecticut is as good and flouriſhing land as any part of Great-Britain?

The face of the country reſembles Devonſhire, Gloceſterſhire, Surry, and Kent. The farmers divide their lands into four, five, and ten acres, by ſtone walls or poſts and rails. The roads from north to ſouth are generally level and good; from

from eaſt to weſt, hilly and bad for carriages.

The various fruits are in greater perfection than in England. The peach and apple are more luſcious, beautiful, and large: 1000 peaches are produced from one tree; five or ſix barrels of cyder from one apple-tree. Cyder is the common drink at table. The inhabitants have a method of purifying cyder by froſt, and ſeparating the watery part from the ſpirit, which, being ſecured in proper veſſels, and coloured by Indian corn, becomes in three months ſo much like Madeira wine, that Europeans drink it without perceiving the difference. They make peachy and perry; grape, cherry, and currant wines; and good beer of pumkins, molaſſes, bran of wheat, ſpruce, and malt. The ſpruce is the leaves and limbs of the fir-tree; their malt is made of maiſe, barley, oats, rye, chets, and wheat.—The pumkin, or pompion, is

one of the greateſt bleſſings, and held very ſacred, in New-England. It is a native of America. From one ſeed often grow 40 pumkins, each weighing from 40 to 60 pounds, and, when ripe, of the colour of the marigold. Each pumkin contains 500 ſeeds, which, being boiled into a jelly, is the Indian infallible cure for the ſtrangury. Of its meat are made beer, bread, cuſtards, ſauce, molaſſes, vinegar, and, on thankſgiving days, pies, as a ſubſtitute for what the Blue Laws brand as antichriſtian minced pies. Its ſkin, or ſhell, ſerves for caps to cut the hair by (as already mentioned), and very uſeful lanthorns.—There are no trees, grain, or fruits, growing in England, but what grow in Connecticut. The Engliſh oak has been thought much ſuperior to the American. Whatever policy may be in this opinion, I will venture to ſay there is no truth in it, in reſpect to the white oak of Connecticut, which is tough, cloſe, hard, and

and elaſtic, as the whale-bone dried. The red, black, and cheſnut oak, are, indeed, much inferior to the white oak. The aſh, elm, beech, cheſnut, walnut, hazel, ſaſſafras, ſamach, maple, and butternut, are the chief timber-trees of this province, and grow to an amazing bulk. The laſt is a native of America, and takes its name from a nut it produces, of the ſhape and ſize of a pullet's egg, which contains a meat larger than any Engliſh walnut, in taſte like freſh butter: it alſo makes an excellent pickle. The butternut furniſhes fine, but tender boards; and its bark dyes black, and cures cutaneous diſorders. In February this tree yields a ſap, of which are made ſugar, molaſſes, and vinegar. The upland maple-tree alſo affords a ſap equally good; and both ſaps make a pleaſant beverage without boiling, and the beſt punch ever drank in Connecticut.

Here are many iron mines, nay mountains of iron ore; and, if they had

been attended to with the ſame diligence as the farms, they would have ſupplied Great Britain with iron, to the great prejudice of Sweden, and other European nations. For this commercial loſs, the inhabitants are indebted to their own quarrels, jealouſy, and religious feuds, together with the intrigues of their neighbours. Some pig and bar iron they ſend, out of pure ſpite and folly, to New-York or Boſton, to be ſhipped for England by the merchants there, who always pay ſo much leſs for it, as the duty on Swediſh iron amounts to: ſo that Connecticut allows a duty to thoſe merchants, which they do not pay themſelves.

Engliſh, Barbary, and Dutch horſes abound in this province: they are not ſo heavy, but more mettleſome and hardy than in England. Here are more ſheep than in any two colonies in America: their wool alſo is better than that of the ſheep in the other colonies, yet not ſo fine and good

as

as the Engliſh. A common ſheep weighs 60lb. and ſells for a dollar, or 4*s*. 6*d*. The horned cattle are not ſo large as the Engliſh; yet there have been a few inſtances of oxen, ſix years old, weighing 1900 cwt. each. The fat hogs here excel any in England; many weigh five or 600 cwt. Connecticut pork is far ſuperior to any other.

There are only two ſmall parks of deer in Connecticut; but plenty of rabbits, hares, grey, black, ſtriped and red ſquirrels, otters, minks, racoons, weazels, foxes, whappernockers, woodchucks, cubas, and ſkunks. The following deſcriptions of the four laſt-mentioned animals may be new to the reader:

The whappernocker is ſomewhat bigger than a weazel, and of a beautiful brown-red colour. He lives in the woods on worms and birds; is ſo wild that no man can tame him; and, as he never quits his harbour in the day-time, is only

to

to be taken by traps in the night. Of the ſkins of theſe animals, which are covered with an exceeding fine fur, are made muffs at the price of 30 or 40 guineas apiece: ſo that it is not without reaſon the ladies pride themſelves on the poſſeſſion of this ſmall appurtenance of female habiliment.

The Woodchuck, erroneouſly called the badger by ſome perſons, is of the ſize of a large racoon, in form reſembles a guinea-pig, and, when eating, makes a noiſe like a hog, whence he is named Woodchuck, or Chuck of the Wood. His legs are ſhort; but his claws ſharp, teeth ſtrong, and courage great, on occaſions of ſelf-defence. He burrows in the earth, feeds on clover and pumkins during ſummer, and ſleeps all the winter. His fleſh is good to eat, and his ſkin makes excellent leather.

The Cuba I ſuppoſe to be peculiar to New-England. The male is of the ſize

of

of a large cat, has four long tuſhes ſharp as a razor, is very active in defending himſelf, and, if he has the firſt blow, will ſpoil a dog before he yields. His lady is peaceable and harmleſs, and depends for protection upon her ſpouſe; and, as he has more courage than prudence, always attends him to moderate his temper. She ſees danger, and he fears it not. She chatters at him while he is preparing for battle; and, if ſhe thinks the danger is too great, ſhe runs to him, and clings about his neck, ſcreaming her extreme diſtreſs—his wrath abates, and by her advice they fly to their caves. In like manner, when he is chained, and irritated into the greateſt rage by an impertinent dog, his lady, who is never chained, will fly about his neck and kiſs him, and in half a minute reſtore him to calmneſs. He is very tender of all his family, and never forſakes them till death diſſolves their union.—What further ſhews the

mag-

magnanimity of this little animal, he never manifeſts the leaſt anger towards his lady, though I have often ſeen her extremely loquacious, and, as I gueſſed, impertinent to him. How happy would the rational part of the creation become, if they would but follow the example of theſe irrational beaſts! I the more readily ſuppoſe the Cuba to be peculiar to New-England, not only from my never having yet ſeen the creature deſcribed, but alſo on account of its perverſe obſervance of *Carnival* and neglect of *Carême*.

The Skunk is alſo peculiar to America, and very different from the Pole-Cat, which he is ſometimes called. He is black ſtriped with white; and of the ſize of a ſmall racoon, with a ſharp noſe. He burrows in the earth like a fox, feeds like a fox on fowls and eggs, and has ſtrong teeth and claws like a fox: he has long hair, and thick and good fur; is the beauty of the wilderneſs; walks,

walks ſlow, and cannot run ſo faſt as a man; is not wild, but very familiar with every creature. His tail, which is ſhaggy, and about one foot in length, he turns over his back at pleaſure, to make himſelf appear larger and higher than he really is. When his tail is thus lying on his back, he is prepared for war, and generally conquers every enemy that lives by air; for on it lies his only weapon, about one inch from his body, or rump, in a ſmall bladder or bag, which is full of an eſſence, whoſe tint is of the brighteſt yellow, and odour ſomewhat like the ſmell of garlick, but far more exquiſite and piercing than any volatile ſpirit known to chemiſts. One drop will ſcent a houſe to ſuch a degree, that muſk, with the help of brimſtone and tar burnt, will not expel it in ſix months. The bladder in which this eſſence lies is worked by the animal like an engine, pump, or ſquirt; and when the creature is

aſſaulted,

aſſaulted, he turns his head from his enemy, and diſcharges from his tail the eſſence, which fills the neighbouring air with a miſt that deſtroys the poſſibility of living in it. I have ſeen a large houſe-dog, by one diſcharge of the Skunk, retire with ſhame and ſickneſs; and, at another time, a bullock bellowing as if a dog had held him by his noſe. Was it not for man, no creature could kill this animal, which, inſtead of the Lion, ought to be crowned King of Animals, as well on account of his virtues and complaiſance, as his courage. He knows his forte; he fears nothing, he conquers all; yet he is civil to all, and never gives, as he will not take, offence. His virtues are many. The wood of Calamba, which cures fainting-fits and ſtrokes of the palſy, and is worth its weight in gold, is far leſs valuable than the above-mentioned eſſence of this animal. The bag is extracted whole from his tail, and the eſſence

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preſerved in glaſs; nothing elſe will confine it. One drop ſufficiently impregnates a quart of ſpring water; and half a gill of water thus impregnated is a doſe. It cures the hiccups, aſthmatic, hyſteric, paralytic, and hectic diſorders; and the odour prevents faintneſs. The fleſh of this animal is excellent food; and its oil cures ſprains, and contractions of the ſinews.

The feathered tribe in Connecticut are, turkeys, geeſe, ducks, and all kinds of barn-door poultry; innumerable flocks of pigeons, which fly to the ſouth in autumn; cormorants of all ſizes; hawks, owls, ravens, and crows; partridges, quails, heath-hens, blackbirds, ſnipes, larks, humilitys, whipperwills, dewminks, robins, rens, ſwallows, ſparrows, the flax, crimſon, white and blue birds, &c. &c. to which I muſt add the humming-bird, though it might wantonly be ſtiled the empreſs of the honey-bees, partaking with them of the pink, tulip, roſe, daiſy, and

other

other aromatics.—The partridges in New-England are near as large as a Darking fowl; the quails, as an Engliſh partridge; and the robins twice as big as thoſe in England.—The dew-mink, ſo named from its articulating thoſe ſyllables, is black and white, and of the ſize of an Engliſh robin. Its fleſh is delicious.—The Humility is ſo called becauſe it ſpeaks the word *humility*, and ſeldom mounts high in the air. Its legs are long enough to enable it to out-run a dog for a little way; its wings long and narrow, body maigre, and of the ſize of a blackbird's; plumage variegated with white, black, blue, and red. It lives on tadpoles, ſpawn, and worms; has an eye more piercing than the falcon, and the ſwiftneſs of an eagle. Hence it can never be ſhot; for it ſees the ſparks of fire even before they enkindle the powder, and, by the extreme rapidity of its flight, gets out of reach in an inſtant. It is never known to light upon

The Robin of N. England is the Fieldfare or Redwing of Old England.

upon a tree, but is always ſeen upon the ground or wing. Theſe birds appear in New-England in ſummer only; what becomes of them afterwards is not diſcovered. They are caught in ſnares, but can never be tamed.

The Whipperwill has ſo named itſelf by its nocturnal ſongs. It is alſo called the pope, by reaſon of its darting with great ſwiftneſs, from the clouds almoſt to the ground, and bawling out *Pope!* which alarms young people and the fanatics very much, eſpecially as they know it to be an ominous bird. However, it has hitherto proved friendly, always giving travellers and others notice of an approaching ſtorm, by ſaluting them every minute with *Pope! Pope!* It flies only a little before ſun-ſet, unleſs for this purpoſe of giving notice of a ſtorm. It never deceives the people with falſe news. If the tempeſt is to continue long, the augurs appear in flocks, and nothing

can be heard but the word *Pope! Pope!* The whipperwill is about the ſize of a cuckow, has a ſhort beak, long and narrow wings, a large head, and mouth enormous, yet is not a bird of prey. Under its throat is a pocket, which it fills with air at pleaſure, whereby it ſounds forth the fatal words *Pope* in the day, and *Whip-her-I-will* in the night. The ſuperſtitious inhabitants would have exorciſed this harmleſs bird long ago, as an emiſſary from Rome, and an enemy to the American vine, had they not found out that it frequents New-England only in the ſummer, and prefers the wilderneſs to a palace. Nevertheleſs, many cannot but believe it to be a ſpy from ſome foreign court, an agent of antichriſt, a lover of perſecution, and an enemy of proteſtants, becauſe it ſings of *whipping*, and of the *pope*, which they think portends miſery and a change of religion.

The principle inſects are, the hornet, bull-

bull-fly, glow-bug, humble-bee, and the black and yellow waſp.

The Bull-fly is armed with a coat of mail, which it can move from one place to another, as ſliders to a window are moved. Its body is about an inch long, and its horns half an inch, very ſharp, and ſtrong. It has ſix feet, with claws ſharp as needles, and runs faſt. It alſo flies with ſome ſpeed. In ſucking the blood or juice of its prey, this creature holds the ſame in its claws, otherwiſe the prey is carried between its horns.

The Glow-bug both crawls and flies, and is about half an inch long. Theſe inſects fly in the ſummer evenings, nearly ſeven feet from the ground, in ſuch multitudes, that they afford ſufficient light for people to walk by. The brightneſs, however, is interrupted by twinklings; but they are inſtantaneous and ſhort as thoſe of the eye; ſo that darkneſs no ſooner takes places than it vaniſhes.

The Humble-bee is almoſt as large as the humming-bird, but cannot fly near ſo faſt. It builds its neſt in the ground, where it makes an honey-comb of the ſize of a man's hand, and fills it with bee-bread, wax, and honey excelling that of the honey-bee in taſte. Two or three begin, and having ſhortly multiplied to about forty, the young ones leave home as ſoon as they can fly, to begin new ſettlements. Theſe bees are wrongly named; they are warriors, and only want quantity of poiſon to be more fatal than rattle-ſnakes. The honey-bees can ſting but once, while the Humble-bees will ſting a thouſand times. Their body is black and white; wings of a Doric colour; ſight piercing; hearing quick; and temper cruel.

Among the reptiles of Connecticut are the black, the water, milk, and ſtreaked ſnakes, all harmleſs. The belled or rattle ſnakes are large, and will gorge a common

common cat. They are ſeldom ſeen from their rocky dens. Their bite is mortal, if not ſpeedily cured; yet they are generous and without guile: before they bite, they rattle their bells three or four times; but, after that, their motion is ſwift, and ſtroke ſure. The Indians diſcovered, and informed the Engliſh of, a weed, common in the country, which, mixed with ſpittle, will extract the poiſon.

The toads and frogs are plenty in the ſpring of the year. The tree-frogs, whipperwills, and hooping-owls, ſerenade the inhabitants every night with muſic far excelling the harmony of the trumpet, drum, and jews-harp.

The Tree-frog cannot be called an inſect, a reptile, or one of the winged hoſt. He has four legs, the two foremoſt ſhort, with claws ſharp as thoſe of a ſquirrel: the hind legs five inches long, and folding by three joints. His body is about as big as the firſt joint of a man's thumb. Un-

der his throat is a wind-bag, which assists him in singing the word *I-sa-ac*, all the night. When it rains, and is very dark, he sings the loudest. His voice is not so pleasing as that of a nightingale; but this would be a venial imperfection, if he would but keep silence on Saturday nights, and not for ever prefer *I-sa-ac* to *Abraham* and *Jacob*. He has more elasticity in his long legs than any other creature yet known. By this means he will leap five yards up a tree, fastening himself to it by his fore-feet; and in a moment will hop or spring as far from one tree to another. It is from the singing of the tree-frog, that the Americans have acquired the name of *Little Isaac*. Indeed, like a certain part of them, the creature appears very devout, noisy, arbitrary, and phlegmatic, and associates with none but what agree with him in his ways.

The oysters, clams, quauhogs, lobsters, crabs, and fish are innumerable. The shad,

ſhad, baſs, and ſalmon, more than half ſupport the province. The ſturgeon is made no uſe of. From the number of ſeans employed to catch the fiſh paſſing up to the lakes, one might be led to ſuppoſe the whole muſt be ſtopped; yet, in ſix months time they return to the ſea with ſuch multitudes of young ones as fill Connecticut river for many days, and no finite being can number them.

POPULATION and INHABITANTS.—Connecticut, in proportion to its extent, exceeds every other colony of Engliſh America, as well in the abundance of people as cultivation of ſoil. The number of the firſt ſettlers at Saybrook, in 1634, was 200; in 1636, at Hertford, 106; in 1637, at Newhaven, 157: in all 463. In 1670, the reſidents in theſe three ſettlements amounted to 15,000, of whom 2000 were men capable of bearing arms; the reſt, old men, women, and

children. In 1680, the reſidents were 20,000; in 1770, 200,000. Hence, it appears, that the people of Connecticut did, during the 90 years preceding the laſt-mentioned date, increaſe 2000 each year; i. e. 20,000, in a period of 90 years, doubled their number ten times over. Should the 200,000, which exiſted in Connecticut in 1770, double their number in the ſame manner for the enſuing 90 years, the province will, in the year 1860, contain 2,000,000; and, if the fighting men ſhould then be in the ſame proportion to the reſt of the inhabitants, as they were in 1670, they will amount to no leſs than 266,000. I ſee no reaſon in nature why it may not be ſo.——Since 1670, the emigrations from Europe, or elſewhere, to Connecticut, have been trifling in compariſon to the emigrations from Connecticut to New-Jerſey, New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſets-Bay, Nova-Scotia, &c. &c.

MANU-

MANUFACTURES.——The inhabitants manufacture coarſe and fine flannels, linen, cotton, and woolen cloths, woolen ſtockings, mittens, and gloves, for their own uſe: they ſpin much cotton and flax; and make common and the beſt kind of beaver hats. Ship-building is a great branch of buſineſs in Connecticut, which is carried on much cheaper than in Europe, by means of ſaw-mills worked by water. The planks are cut by a gang of ten or twelve ſaws, more or leſs, as occaſion requires, while the carriage is backed but once. Great part of the ſhip-timber is alſo cut by water. Anchor-making is done by water and trip-hammers, without much fatigue to the workmen. Diſtillation and paper-making encreaſe every year. Here are many rope-walks, which want neither hemp nor flax; and formerly here were rolling and ſlitting works, but they have been ſuppreſſed by an act of parliament, to the ruin of many families.

COM-

COMMERCE.——The exports of Connecticut conſiſt chiefly of all ſorts of proviſions, pig and bar iron, pot and pearl aſhes, ſtaves, lumber, boards, iron pots and kettles, anchors, planks, hoops, ſhingles, live cattle, horſes, &c. &c. To what amount theſe articles are annually exported may be judged of from the following very low eſtimate:

Pork — —	£ 93,750
Beef — — —	100,000
Mutton, — —	5,000
Horſes, — —	40,000
Wheat — —	340,000
Butter, cheeſe, rye, oats, onions, tobacco, cyder, maiſe, beans, fowls, eggs, tallow, and hides,	90,000
Ships, anchors, cables, cordage, pig and bar iron, pots, kettles, pot and pearl aſhes, boards, and lumber,	250,000
	918,750

beſides

beſides hay, fiſh, &c. &c. The ſalmon, large and ſmall, are exported both pickled and dried.

In the above ſtatement of exports, I have allowed only for horſes bred in the colony, and not for thoſe brought for exportation from Canada and other northern parts, which are very numerous. The calculation of the wheat, the common price of which is three ſhillings ſterling per buſhel, is founded upon the allowed circumſtance of the exportation being equal to the conſumption, viz. 2,600,000 buſhels among 200,000 perſons, according to the acknowledged neceſſary portion of 13 buſhels for one perſon. The pork is eſtimated according to the reputed number of houſes in the province, viz. 30,000, allowing $1\frac{1}{4}$ barrel for each houſe, at 2*l.* 10*s.* per barrel.

The imports, in 1680, when the number of inhabitants was 20,000, amounted to 10,000*l.* i. e. at the rate of 10*s.* for each in-

individual. Suppoſing the increaſe of imports only to keep pace with that of the people, they would, in 1770, when the province contained 200,000 ſouls, amount to 100,000*l*; but, I believe that to be not above one quarter of their value.

Boſton, New-York, and Newport, have the greateſt ſhare of the exports of Connecticut, and pay for them in Engliſh or Dutch goods, at cent. per cent. profit to themſelves, upon a moderate computation. What few of them are ſent by the colony to the Weſt-Indies are paid for honourably in rum, molaſſes, ſugar, ſalt, brandy, cotton, and money.

Conſequences very prejudicial attend the commerce of Connecticut, thus principally carried on through the medium of the neighbouring colonies. I will here point out one material inſtance. Connecticut pork, a conſiderable article of exportation, excels all other in America, and

and fetches a half-penny more per pound. Of this difference in price the merchants of New-York, Boſton, &c. have taken care to avail themſelves, by mixing their own inferior pork with that of Connecticut, and then ſelling the whole at the full price of the latter. This fair dealing was managed thus:—The pork of Connecticut is packed up in barrels, each of which, according to ſtatute regulation, muſt weigh 220lb. and contain not more than ſix legs and thee half-heads. The packer is to mark the barrel before it is ſhipped, and is liable to a heavy puniſhment, if there ſhould be found four half-heads and ſeven legs in the barrel when it is delivered for exportation. But of large pork, two legs and half a head will be a ſufficient proportion of thoſe parts in a barrel. This gives the New-York and Boſtonian merchants an opportunity of taking out the beſt part of the Connecticut pork, and ſubſtituting in its place an equal weight of their

their own, whereby it often happens, that four legs and two half-heads are found in a barrel of reputed Connecticut pork. Though it then remains a barrel according to the ſtatute, it cannot but be ſuppoſed that this practice muſt greatly hurt the credit of Connecticut pork, with all who are not apprized that it paſſes through the renowned provinces of Maſſachuſets-Bay and New-York.

The people of Connecticut have long been ſenſible of the many and great impoſitions and diſadvantages which beſet their preſent commercial ſyſtem; yet, though ſufficient power is in their own hands, they have no inclination or reſolution to attempt a reformation of it. The reaſon is, the mutual animoſities and rancour ſubſiſting between the dominions of New-London, Hertford, and Newhaven, each of which prefers the general ruin of the province to a coalition upon any terms ſhort of conqueſt. The ſeeds

of

of this diſcord were thus ſown by their two inſidious neighbours. The port of New-London is by far the beſt in the province, and extremely well calculated for its capital and grand commercial emporium; and, about 50 years ſince, a number of merchants there began to export and import goods, ſeemingly to the ſatisfaction of the whole colony, but to the great diſpleaſure and chagrin of thoſe of New-York and Boſton, whom it threatened with ruin. Something was neceſſary to be done. The poor Boſtonians, according to cuſtom, privately ſent to their faithful allies, at Hertford, to infuſe into them an idea that their town ought to be the capital, and not New-London, which belonged to the dominion of Saſſacus, who had murdered ſo many chriſtians; adding, that, if they would engage in ſuch an attempt in favour of Hertford, the Boſton merchants would ſupply them with goods cheaper than they

they could buy them at New-London. The good people of Hertford, forgetting their river was frozen five months in the year, remembering how they had obtained their charter, hating Saſſacus, and loving ſelf, immediately gave into the deſigning Boſtonians ſuggeſtions, and refuſed to receive any more goods from New-London. The friendly Mynheers of New-York played off a ſimilar trick upon Newhaven, and promiſed to ſupport that town as the capital of the colony. The plots ſucceeded. Contention and quarrels aroſe among the three parties, the effects of which remain to this day. The merchants of New-London were obliged to quit Connecticut; and the trade of the province was chiefly divided between New-York and Boſton, at cent. per cent. diſadvantage to an ill-natured colony, and at the ſame advantage to its cunning neighbours. When party-ſpirit yields to ſelf-intereſt, New-London will

again

again become the emporium of Connecticut, where merchants will ſettle and import goods from foreign countries at 35*l.* per cent. extra profit to the conſumers, and 15*l.* per cent. extra profit to themſelves, and withal ſave as much in the exports from Connecticut by taking the full price and bounty of its goods at foreign markets, inſtead of yielding the ſame to the people of New-York and Boſton, who have too long kept 200,000 people as negroes upon their own farms, to ſupport and maintain twice 20,000 artful citizens. Thus has Connecticut, by contention and folly, impoveriſhed, and kept in obſcurity, the moſt fruitful colony in America, to ſupport the fame and grandeur of Boſton and New-York among the trading nations of Europe. When I view the leſs fertile ſoil of Boſton, the conſcience of merchants, the pride of the pretended Goſpel miniſters, the blindneſs of bigotry, and the mercantile ignorance

rance of farmers, I forgive Boſton, New-York, and Rhode-Iſtand, but condemn Connecticut. I will leave a legacy to the people of my native country, which poſſibly may heal their diviſions, and render them partial to their own province, as the Boſtonians are to theirs. It conſiſts of two lines:

"But if men knaves and fools will be,
"They'll be aſs-ridden by all three."

REVENUE and EXPENDITURE.—In 1680, the whole corporation were eſtimated to be worth 120,000*l.* They then had 30 ſmall veſſels, 26 churches, and (as above mentioned) 20,000 inhabitants. If their value had increaſed only in proportion with the inhabitants, who, I have ſaid, amounted to 200,000 in 1770, the corporation would then have been worth no more than 1,200,000*l.* a ſum not equal to 10*s.* per acre, though in a great meaſure cultivated, and ſurrounded with

with ſtone walls, which alone coſt ten ſhillings by the rod: but in that year, viz. 1770, land ſold in Connecticut from 4 to 50 pounds per acre; their veſſels alſo had encreaſed to above 1200; and the churches (leaſt in proportion) to about 300. The true method, therefore, of forming the valuation of Connecticut in 1770, is, not by calculating upon its ſtate in 1680, but by eſtimating the number of its acres, appreciating them by purchaſes then made, and adding a due allowance for the ſtock, &c. Now, Connecticut has been reputed to contain 2,500,000 ſolid acres, which, at the very moderate price of 8*l.* each, are worth 20,000,000*l.* ſterl. and 14,000,000*l.* being added as a reaſonable allowance for ſtock, ſhipping, &c. the whole valuation of Connecticut would amount to 34,000,000*l.* —The annual income, ſuppoſing the 2,500,000 acres and ſtock rented at 10*ſ.*

per acre, one with another, would be 1,250,000*l.*

A liſt of rateables, called the General Liſt, is the foundation upon which the revenue is raiſed in Connecticut, being the valuation of a man's property by the year. It is formed in the following manner:

One acre of land, per ann.	0*l.*	10*s.*	0*d.*
One houſe	3	0	0
One horſe	3	0	0
One ox	4	0	0
One ſwine	1	0	0
One cow	3	0	0
One two-year-old heifer	2	0	0
One yearling ditto	1	0	0
One poll or male, between 16 and 60 years	18	0	0
One lawyer for his faculty	20	0	0
One veſſel of one hundred tons	10	0	0
	£.65	10	0

Every perſon annually gives in his liſt, ſpecifying

ſpecifying the property he poſſeſſes, to the ſelectmen, who ſend the ſum-total of each town to the General Aſſembly, when a tax of one ſhilling, more or leſs, according to public exigencies, is impoſed on each pound.

According to the general liſt of the colony for 1770, I have under-rated its annual worth, which then was fixed at 2,000,000*l.* for, though that liſt includes the poll-tax of 18*l.* per head for all males above 16 and under 60 years of age, the faculty tax, and the tax on ſhipping, all which may amount to 600,000*l.* there nevertheleſs remains a ſurplus of 150,000*l.* above my calculation. But ſuppoſing a tax of one ſhilling in the pound (the common colonial aſſeſſment) on 1,250,000*l.* the produce will be 62,500*l.* excluſive of the poll, faculty, and other taxes. Small, however, as this aſſeſſment is, it has never been collected without much difficulty and clamour; yet the people loſe, by trading

with Boſton, New-York, and Newport, in exports and imports, 600,000*l.* annually—and that for nothing, but to oblige the traders of thoſe towns, and diſoblige one another.

The annual expenditure of the colony is as follows:

Salary of the Governor —	£.300
—— Lieutenant-Governor —	150
—— Treaſurer — —	150
—— Secretary — —	150
—— The 12 Aſſiſtants in Council with the Governor	800
—— 146 Repreſentatives —	2500
—— 300 Miniſters, 100*l.* each	30000
Allowance for contingencies	28450
Total	62500

The above-mentioned liſt of the colony, including the poll-tax, &c. would afford 32,500*l.* *more* for *contingencies!*

RELIGION and GOVERNMENT.—Properly ſpeaking, the Connecticutenſians have neither, nor ever had; but, in pretence, they excel the whole world, except

cept Boſton and Spain. If I could recollect the names of the multifarious religious ſects among them, it might afford the reader a pleaſant idea of the prolific invention of mankind. I ſhall mention a few of the moſt conſiderable; ſpecifying the number of their congregations.

	Congregations.
Epiſcopalians —	73
Scotch preſbyterian	1
Sandemanian ——	3
Ditto baſtard —	1
Lutherans —	1
Baptiſts ——	6
Seven-day ditto —	1
Quakers ——	4
Daviſonians —	1
Separatiſts ——	40
Rogereens —	1
Bowliſts ——	1
Old Lights ——	80
New Lights ——	87
	300

An account of ſome of theſe ſects is to be found in the Hiſtory of Munſter; but the Bowliſts, Separatiſts, and Daviſonians, are peculiar to the colony. The firſt allow of neither ſinging nor prayer; the ſecond permit only the Elect to pray; and the third teach univerſal ſalvation, and deny the exiſtence of an hell or devils. The preſbyterians and epiſcopalians are held by all to be the enemies of Zion, and the American vine; nay, the former are even worſe hated than the churchmen, becauſe they appear to be diſſenters, and are not genuine enemies to epiſcopacy, but "hold the truth in unrighteouſneſs." Some travellers have called the fanatical ſects of Connecticut by the general name of Legioniſts, becauſe they are many; and others have called them Pumguntums, Cantums, &c. becauſe they groan and ſing with a melancholy voice their prayers, ſermons, and hymns. This diſguſting tone

tone has utterly excluded oratory from them; and, did they not ſpeak the Engliſh language in greater perfection than any other of the Americans, few ſtrangers would diſoblige them with their company. Their various ſyſtems are founded upon thoſe of Peters, Hooker, and Davenport, of which I have already ſpoken; yet the modern teachers have made ſo many new-fangled refinements in the doctrine and diſcipline of thoſe patriarchs, and of one another, as render their paſſion for eccleſiaſtical innovation and tyranny equally conſpicuous.—But the whole are enveloped with ſuperſtition, which here paſſes for religion, as much as it does in Spain, France, or among the ſavages. I will inſtance that of an infant in 1761. Some children were piling ſand-heaps in Hertford, when a boy, only four years old, hearing it thunder at a diſtance, left his companions and ran home to his mother, crying out,

" Mother!

" Mother! mother! give me my book, " for I heard God ſpeaking to me." His mother gave him his book, and he read A, B, C, D, E, F, G, &c. then gave up his book, ſaying, " Here, mother, take " my book; I muſt go to my ſand- " houſes: now I am not afraid of all the " thunder and lightning in the world."

As to their government, we may compare it to the regularity of a mad mob in London, with this exception, the mob acts without law, and the coloniſts by law. They teach that legal righteouſneſs is not ſaving grace. Herein they are right; but it appears they believe not their own doctrine: for legal righteouſneſs is their only *ſhield and buckler*. In January county court, at Hertford only, 1768, there were above 3000 ſuits on the docket; and there are four of thoſe courts in a year, and perhaps never leſs ſuits at a court than 2000.

In the courſe of this work, my readers muſt

muſt neceſſarily have obſerved, in ſome degree, the ill effects of the democratical conſtitution of Connecticut. I would wiſh them to imagine, for I feel myſelf unable adequately to deſcribe, the confuſion, turbulence, and convulſion, ariſing in a province, where not only every civil officer, from the Governor to the conſtable, but alſo every miniſter, is appointed as well as paid by the people, and faction and ſuperſtition are eſtabliſhed. The clergy, lawyers, and merchants or traders, are the three efficient parties which guide the helm of government. Of theſe the moſt powerful is the clergy; and, when no combinations are formed againſt them, they may be ſaid to rule the whole province; for they lead the women captive, and the women the men; but when the clergy differ with the lawyers and merchants, the popular tide turns. In like manner, when the clergy and lawyers contend with the merchants, it turns againſt theſe;

theſe; and it is the ſame, when the clergy and merchants unite againſt the lawyers. This fluctuation of power gives a ſtrange appearance to the body politic at large. In Hertford, perhaps, the clergy and merchants are agreed and prevail; in Weathersfield, the clergy and lawyers; in Middletown, the lawyers and merchants; and ſo on, again and again, thoughout the colony. Thus the General Aſſembly becomes an aſſembly of contending factions, whoſe different intereſts and purſuits it is generally found neceſſary mutually to conſult, in order to produce a ſufficient coalition to proceed on the buſineſs of the ſtate.—— *Voſipſos, pſeudo-patres patriæ, veluti in ſpeculo, aſpicite!*——Sometimes, in quarrels tween the merchants and lawyers of a particular pariſh, the miniſter is allowed to ſtand neuter; but, for the moſt part, he is obliged to declare on one ſide or the other: he then, remembering whence he gets

gets his bread, eſpouſes that which appears to be the ſtrongeſt, whether it be right or wrong, and his declaration never fails to ruin the adverſe party. *En rabies vulgi!* —I muſt beg leave to refer my readers to their own reflections upon ſuch a ſyſtem of government as I have here ſketched out.

The hiſtorians of New-England boaſt much of the happineſs all parties there enjoy in not being ſubject, as in England, to any ſacramental teſt by way of qualification for preferment in the ſtate; on which account, with peculiar propriety, it might be called a free country. The truth is, there never has been occaſion for ſuch a teſt-act. The aſſemblies never appointed any, becauſe the magiſtrates are annually choſen by the people, of whom the far greater part are church-members; and this church-membership, in its conſequences, deſtroys all liberty in a communicant, who is neceſſitated

neceſſitated to ſwear to promote the intereſt of that church he is a member of, and is duly informed by the miniſter what that intereſt is. The miniſter is the eye of conſcience to all freemen in his pariſh; and tells them, that they will perjure themſelves, if they give their votes to an epiſcopalian, or to any perſon who is not a member of the church of the *Sober Diſſenters*. Thoſe *freemen* dare not go counter to the miniſter's dictate, any more than a true Muſſulman dare violate the moſt ſacred law of Mahomet. What need, then, is there of a civil teſt, when a religious teſt operates much more powerfully, and will ever keep all churchmen, ſeparatiſts, quakers, baptiſts, and other denominations, from governmental employments in Connecticut, and confine them all to the Old and New Lights; whilſt the teſt-act in England prevents no diſſenter from holding any civil or military commiſſion whatſoever,

ſoever.——Upon this ſubject Mr. Neal has exerted himſelf in ſo ſignal a manner, that he ought to be ſtyled the Champion of New-England. He repreſents, that there were two ſtate factions in New-England: the one out of place he calls ſpies, and malcontents, chiefly becauſe they had no ſhare in the government. He adds, p. 615, "I can aſſure the "world, that religion is no part of the "quarrel; for there is no ſacramental "teſt for preferments in the ſtate."—Many people in New-England have not been able to aſſign a reaſon for Mr. Neal's chuſing to hide one truth by telling another, viz. that there was no ſtatute in New-England to oblige a man to receive the ſacrament among the *Sober Diſſenters*, as a qualification for civil employment. This aſſertion is really true; and when Mr. Neal ſpeaks a truth, he above all men ought to have credit for it. But Mr. Neal well knew it to be truth alſo, that

no

no man could be choſen a corporal in the train-band, unleſs he was a member of the church of the *Sober Diſſenters*, becauſe then every voter was ſubject to a religious teſt of the ſynod or conſociation. Mr. Neal, indeed, ſeems to think that a civil teſt is hereſy itſelf; but that a religious teſt is liberty, is goſpel, and renders "all parties of chriſtians in New-England "eaſy, a happy people!" The reaſon, however, of his muffling truth with truth, was, he wrote for the Old Lights, and againſt the New Lights, for hire; the New Lights being the minority, and out of place in the ſtate. Thoſe two ſects differed about the coercive power of the civil magiſtrate. The Old Lights held that the civil magiſtrate was a creature framed on purpoſe to ſupport eccleſiaſtical cenſures with the ſword of ſeverity; but the New Lights maintained, that the magiſtrate had no power or right to concern himſelf with church excommunication, and that excom-

excommunication was all the puniſhment any-one could undergo in this world according to the rules of the goſpel. Theſe were and always have been two great articles of faith in New-England; nevertheleſs, Mr. Neal ſays, he can aſſure the world, that "religion is no part of the quarrel!" I hope Mr. Neal did not mean to quibble, as the New-Englanders generally do, by a jeſuitiſm, viz. that religion is peaceable and admits not of quarrels; and yet, if he did not, he meant not a full repreſentation of the matter: for he well knew that the difference in reſpect to the intent and power of magiſtrates was a religious point, and formed the partition-wall between the Old and New Lights. The civilians or magiſtrates were too wiſe to countenance the New-Lights, who promiſed little good to them; while the Old-Lights gave them a power of puniſhing, even with death, thoſe whom they had anathematized, and who would not

ſubmit to their cenſures by penitence and confeſſion. The Old-Lights, in ſhort, ſupported the practice of the inquiſitors of Spain, and Archbiſhop Laud; the oſtenſible occaſion of their anceſtors flying from England to the wilderneſs of America.

But Mr. Neal contented not himſelf with one miſtake: he added, "that the "people of New-England are a dutiful "and loyal people." They never merited this character, and they always had too much honeſty and religion to claim it. From the firſt they have uniformly declared, in church and ſtate, that America is a new world, ſubject to the people reſiding in it; and that none but enemies to the country would appeal from their courts to the King in Council. They never have prayed for any earthly king by name. They have always called themſelves republicans and enemies to kingly government, to temporal and ſpiritual lords.

lords. They hate the idea of a parliament, conſiſting of King, Lords, and Commons: they declare, that the three branches ſhould be but one, the King having only a ſingle vote with the other members. Upon this point they have always quarrelled with all governors. They never have admitted one law of England to be in force among them, till paſſed by their aſſemblies. They have ſent agents to fight againſt the Kings of England. They deny the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of London, which extends over America by virtue of a royal patent. They hold Jeſus to be their only King, whom if they love and obey, they will not ſubmit, becauſe they have not ſubmitted, to the laws of the King of Great-Britain.

ridiculous.

Mr. Neal, furthermore, profeſſes his want of conception why the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts ſhould ſend Miſſionaries into New-England, when Oliver Cromwell had, in

1649, inſtituted a Society to propagate Chriſtian Knowledge there. Mr. Neal might have learnt the cauſe of this phenomenon from the charter granted to the firſt-mentioned Society by King William III. who was a friend to civil and chriſtian liberty, and who endeavoured to ſuppreſs the intolerable perſecutions in his days prevailing in New-England. But, beſides, Mr. Neal could not but know that there were many churchmen in New-England deſirous of the uſe of the liturgy and diſcipline of the Engliſh church; and for what reaſon ſhould not they have miniſters of their own perſuaſion, as well as the ſober and conſcientious diſſenters? I hope my readers will not think me a partial advocate for the church of England, which, perhaps, has loſt the opportunity of civilizing, chriſtianizing, and moderating the burning zeal of the diſſenters in New-England who were honeſt in their religion, merely by the ſinful omiſ-

ſion

ſion of not ſending a biſhop to that country, who would have effected greater things among them than an army of 50,000 men.—I avow myſelf to be liberal-minded towards all ſects and parties; and, if I had power, I would convert all ſorts of miniſters into popes, cardinals, prelates, dominis, potent preſbyters, and rich quakers, that the world might be excuſed from hearing again of preaching, defamation, inſurrections, and ſpiritual juriſdictions, which reſult more from poverty, pride, avarice, and ambition, than the love of peace and chriſtianity. It has been ſaid by the deiſts and other politicians, that miniſters, by preaching, have done more hurt than good in the chriſtian world. If the idea will hold in any part, it will in New-England, where each ſect preaches, for Goſpel, policy and defamation of its neighbour; whence the lower claſſes think, that chriſtianity conſiſts in defending their own peculiar church

and modes, and ſubverting thoſe of others, at any rate; while the higher ranks value religion and the Goſpel as laws of a foreign country, and the clergy as merchants or pawwawers, ſubtle, cruel, and greedy of riches and dominion over all people. For this reaſon, the ſavages have taken an averſion to the proteſtant religion, and ſay they had rather follow Hobbamockow, and the Roman prieſts, than New-England chriſtians, who perſecute one another, and killed their anceſtors with a *pocky* Goſpel. With ſcorn they cry out, "We value not your Goſpel, which ſhews "ſo many roads to Kicktang: ſome of "them muſt be crooked, and lead to "Hobbamockow. We had, therefore, "better continue Indians, like our anceſ-"tors; or be catholicks, who tell us of "only one way to Kicktang, or the in-"viſible God."

LAWS.—A ſtranger in the colony, upon hearing

hearing the inhabitants talk of religion, liberty, and juſtice, would be induced to believe that the chriſtian and civil virtues were their diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics; but he ſoon finds his miſtake on fixing his abode among them. Their laws grind the poor, and their religion is to oppreſs the oppreſſed. The poll-tax is unjuſt and cruel. The poor man is compelled to pay for his head 18*s.* per ann. work four days on the highways, ſerve in the militia four days, and pay three ſhillings for his hut without a window in it. The beſt houſe and richeſt man in the colony pays no more!

The law is pretended to exempt epiſcopalians, anabaptiſts, quakers, and others, from paying rates to the *Sober Diſſenters*; but, at the ſame time, gives the *Sober Diſſenters* power to tax them for miniſter, ſchool, and town-rates, by a general vote; and no law or court can *put aſunder what the town has joined together*.—The law

alſo exempts from paying to *Sober Diſſenters* all churchmen, *who live ſo near as they can and do attend the church.* But, hence, if a man is ſick, and does not attend more than 26 Sabbaths in a year, he becomes legally a *Sober Diſſenter*; and, if the meeting lies between him and the church, he does not live *ſo near* the church *as he can attend*, becauſe is it more than a Sabbath-day's journey, and *unneceſſary* travel.

The law preſcribes whipping, ſtocks, and fines, for ſuch as do not attend public worſhip on the Sabbath. The grand jury complains, and the juſtice inflicts the puniſhment. This has been the practice many years. About 1750, Mr. Pitt, a churchman, was whipped, for not attending meeting. Mr. Pitt was an old man. The epiſcopal clergy wrote to England, complaining of this cruel law. The Governor and Council immediately broke the juſtice who puniſhed Mr.

Mr. Pitt, and wrote to the Biſhop of London that they had done ſo, as a mark of their diſapprobation of the juſtice's conduct, and knew not what more they could do. This apology ſatisfied the Biſhop; and the next year the ſame Governor and Council reſtored the juſtice to his office: however, quakers and anabaptiſts only were whipped afterwards.

Formerly, when a *Sober Diſſenter* had a ſuit in law againſt a churchman, every juryman of the latter perſuaſion was by the court removed from the jury, and replaced by *Sober Diſſenters*. The reaſon aſſigned for this extraordinary conduct was, "that juſtice and impartiality might take place." The epiſcopalians, quakers, and other ſects, not of the *Sober Diſſenters*, were not admitted to ſerve as jurymen in Connecticut till about 1750. Such of them, whoſe annual worth is rated at not leſs than forty pounds in the general liſt, have enjoyed the liberty of voting

voting for civil officers a much longer term; but from pariſh-concerns they are all ſtill totally excluded.

Other laws I have occaſionally animadverted upon in the courſe of this work; and a ſpecimen of the Blue Laws is inſerted p. 63.—the various courts 80, 81.

Nothing can reflect greater diſgrace upon the colony than the number of ſuits in all the county courts, amounting in the whole to between 20 and 30,000 annually; the greateſt part of which are vexatiouſly commenced from expectations grounded upon the notorious inſtability of the judges opinions and deciſions.

This ſpirit of litigation, which diſtracts the province in general, is, however, a bleſſing to the judges and lawyers. The court has one ſhilling for every action called, and twenty ſhillings for thoſe that come to trial; and the fee to each lawyer is twenty ſhillings, whether the action be

be tried or not: beſides various other expences. There are near as many ſuits of conſcience before the juſtices of peace, and miniſters, and deacons; ſo that the ſum annually expended in law in the whole colony is amazing. It was not without reaſon, therefore, that the judges, the lawyers, the miniſters, and deacons, the ſheriffs, and conſtables, oppoſed the ſtamp-act with all their might. They told the people, that, if this act took place, their liberties would be deſtroyed, and they would be tried by King's judges without a jury.

The ſingular nature of ſome of the ſuits entitle them to particular notice. When the ice and floods prevail in the great river Connecticut, they frequently cut off large pieces of ground on one ſide, and carry them over to the oppoſite. By this means, the river is every year changing its bed, to the advantage of ſome perſons, and the diſadvantage of others. This has proved

proved the ſource of perplexing law-ſuits, and will moſt likely continue to produce the ſame effects ſo long as the demiannual aſſemblies remain in the colony; for the judgment of the Aſſembly in May is reſcinded by that in October, and ſo *vice verſa*. Thus a law-ſuit in Connecticut is endleſs, to the ruin of both plaintiff and defendant. The county and the ſuperior courts, alſo, in different years, give different judgments; and the reaſon is the popular conſtitution of the colony, whereby different parties prevail at different times, each of whom carefully undoes what the others have done. Thus the glorious uncertainty of law renders the poſſeſſion of property in Connecticut extremely precarious. The queſtion, however, touching the lands removed from place to place by the floods and ice, requires the ſkill of both juriſts and caſuiſts. The moſt ſimple caſe of the kind that has been communicated to me, is the

the following: A piece of land belonging to A. in Springfield, with a houſe, &c. ſtanding upon it, was removed by the flood to another town, and ſettled on land belonging to W. A. claimed his houſe and land, and took poſſeſſion of them; whereupon W. ſued A. for a treſpaſs, and the court ejected A. But A. afterwards obtained a reverſion of the judgment; when W. again ſued A. and got a decree that A. ſhould remove his own land off from the land of W. or pay W. for *his* land. Further litigation enſued, and both parties pleaded that the act of God injured no man according to the Engliſh law. The judges ſaid, the act of God in this caſe equally fell upon A. and W. The diſpute reſts in *ſtatu quo*, the juriſprudence of Connecticut not having yet taught mankind what is juſt and legal in this important controverſy.

Suppoſing the flood had carried A.'s ſhip or raft on W.'s land, the ſhip or raft would

would ſtill belong to A. and W. could recover no damage; but then A. muſt take away his ſhip or raft in a reaſonable time. Yet in the caſe where an iſland or point of land is removed by the waters, or an earthquake, upon a neighbouring ſhore, Q. Ought not the iſlanders to keep poſſeſſion of the ſuperficies?—This may be a new caſe in Europe.

MANNERS and CUSTOMS.—Gravity and a ſerious deportment, together with ſhyneſs and baſhfulneſs, generally attend the firſt communications with the inhabitants of Connecticut; but, after a ſhort acquaintance, they become very familiar and inquiſitive about news,—Who are you, whence come you, where going, what is your buſineſs, and what your religion? They do not conſider theſe and ſimilar queſtions as impertinent, and conſequently expect a civil anſwer. When the ſtranger has ſatisfied their curioſity, they

they will treat him with all the hoſpitality in their power, and great caution muſt be obſerved to get quit of them and their houſes without giving them offence. If the ſtranger has croſs and difficult roads to travel, they will go with him till all danger is paſt, without fee or reward. The ſtranger has nothing to do but civilly to ſay, "Sir, I thank you, and will call "upon you when I return." He muſt not ſay, "God bleſs you, I ſhall be glad "to ſee you at my houſe," unleſs he is a miniſter; becauſe they hold, that the words "God bleſs you" ſhould not be ſpoken by common people; and "I ſhall "be glad to ſee you at my houſe" they look upon as an inſincere compliment paid them for what they do out of duty to the ſtranger. Their hoſpitality is highly exemplary; they are ſincere in it, and reap great pleaſure by reflecting that perhaps they have entertained angels. The Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, in one

of

of his ſermons, gave them the following character: "I have found," ſaid he, "the people of Connecticut the wiſeſt of "any upon the continent—they are the "beſt friends and the worſt enemies— "they are hair-brained bigots on all ſides "—and they may be compared to the "horſe and mule without bit and bridle. "In other colonies I have paid for my "food and lodging; but could never "ſpend one penny in fruitful Connecti- "cut, whoſe banks flow with milk and "honey, and whoſe ſons and daughters "never fail to feed and refreſh the weary "traveller *without money and without* "*price.*"

On Saturday evenings the people look ſour and ſad: on the Sabbath, they appear to have loſt their deareſt friends, are almoſt ſpeechleſs, and walk ſoftly; they even obſerve it with more exactneſs than ever did the Jews. A quaker preacher told them, with much truth, that they wor-

worſhipped the Sabbath, and not the God of the Sabbath. Thoſe hoſpitable people without charity condemned the quaker as a blaſphemer of the holy Sabbath, fined, tarred and feathered him, put a rope about his neck, and plunged him into the ſea; but he eſcaped with life, though he was above 70 years of age. In 1750, an epiſcopal clergyman, born and educated in England, who had been in holy orders above 20 years, once broke their ſabbatical law, by combing a diſcompoſed lock of hair on the top of his wig; at another time, by making a humming noiſe, which they called a whiſtling; at a third time, by walking too faſt from church; at a fourth, by running into church when it rained; at a fifth, by walking in his garden, and picking a bunch of grapes: for which ſeveral crimes he was complained of by the grand Jury, had warrants granted againſt him, was ſeized, brought to trial, and paid a conſiderable ſum of money.

At laſt, overwhelmed with perſecution and vexation, he cried out, "No Briton, "nay no Jew, ſhould aſſume any public "character in Connecticut, till he has "ſerved an apprenticeſhip of ten years "in it; for I have been here ſeven years, "and ſtrictly obſerved the Jewiſh law "concerning the Sabbath, yet find my-"ſelf remiſs in reſpect to the *perfect law* "*of liberty!*"

The people are extremely fond of ſtrangers paſſing through the colony, but very averſe to foreigners ſettling among them; which few have done without ruin to their characters and fortunes by detraction and law-ſuits, unleſs recommended as men of grace by ſome known and revered republican proteſtant in Europe. The following ſtory may be amuſing:—An Engliſh gentleman, during a ſhort reſidence in a certain town, had the good luck to receive ſome civilities from the Deacon, Miniſter, and Juſtice,

tice. The Deacon had a daughter, without beauty, but ſenſible and rich. The Briton (for that was the name he went by), having received a preſent from the Weſt Indies, of ſome pine-apples and ſweetmeats, ſent his ſervant with part of it to the Deacon's daughter, to whom, at the ſame time, he addreſſed a complimentary note, begging Miſs would accept the pine-apples and ſweetmeats, and wiſhing he might be able to make her a better preſent. Miſs, on reading the note, was greatly alarmed, and exclaimed, "Ma-"ma! Mama! Mr. Briton has ſent me a "love-letter." The mother read the note, and ſhewed it to the Deacon; and, after due conſideration, both agreed in pronouncing it a love-letter. The lawyer, juſtice, and parſon, were then ſent for, who in council weighed every word in the note, together with the golden temptation which the lady poſſeſſed, and were of opinion that the writer was in love,

and that the note was a love-letter, but worded ſo carefully that the law could not puniſh Briton for attempting to court Miſs without obtaining her parents conſent. The parſon wrung his hands, rolled up his eyes, ſhrugged up his ſhoulders, groaned out his hypocritical grief, and ſaid, "Deacon, I hope you do "not blame me for having been the inno- "cent cauſe of your knowing this impru- "dent and haughty Briton. There is ſome- "thing very odd in all the Britons; but "I thought this man had ſome prudence "and modeſty: however, Deacon," putting his hand on his breaſt, and bowing ing with a pale, deceitful face, "I ſhall "in future ſhun all the Britons, for they "are all ſtrange creatures." The lawyer and juſtice made their apologies, and were ſorry that Briton did not conſider the quality of the Deacon's daughter before he wrote his letter. Miſs, all apprehenſion and tears, at finding no puniſh-

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ment could reach Briton in the courſe of law, cried out to her counſellors, "Who "is Briton? Am I not the Deacon's "daughter? What have I done that he "ſhould take ſuch liberties with me? "Is he not the natural ſon of ſome "prieſt or foundling? Ought he not to "be expoſed for his aſſurance to the "Deacon's daughter?" Her words took effect. The council voted that they would ſhew their contempt of Briton by neglecting him for the time to come. On his return home, the parſon, after many and great ſigns of ſurprize, informed his wife of the awful event which had happened by the imprudence of Briton. She ſoon communicated the ſecret to her ſiſter goſſips, prudently cautioning them not to report it as from her. But, not content with that, the parſon himſelf went among all his acquaintance, ſhaking his head, and ſaying, "O, Sirs! have you heard of the "ſtrange conduct of friend Briton?--how

" he wrote a love-letter, and ſent it with " ſome pine-apples to the Deacon's daugh- " ter ? My wife and I had a great friend- " ſhip for Briton, but cannot ſee him " any more." Thus the afflicted parſon told this important tale to every one except Briton, who, from his ignorance of the ſtory, conducted himſelf in his uſual manner towards his ſuppoſed friends, though he obſerved they had a ſhow of haſte and buſineſs whenever he met with any of them. Happily for Briton, he depended not on the Deacon, Miniſter, or Colony, for his ſupport. At laſt, a Scotchman heard of the evil tale, and generouſly told Briton of it, adding that the parſon was ſuppoſed to be in a deep decline merely from grief and the fatigue he had endured in ſpreading it. Briton thanked the Scotchman, and called on the friendly parſon to know the particulars of his offence. The parſon, with ſighs, bows, and ſolemn ſmirkings, anſwered

ſwered, "Sir, the fact is, you wrote a "love-letter to the Deacon's daughter "without aſking her parents conſent, "which has given great offence to that "lady, and to all her acquaintance, of "whom I and my wife have the honour "to be reckoned a part." Briton kept his temper. "So then," ſaid he, "I "have offended you by my inſolent note "to the Deacon's daughter! I hope my "ſin is venial. Pray, Sir, have you ſeen "my note?" "Yes," replied the parſon, "to my grief and ſorrow: I could not "have thought you ſo imprudent, had I "not ſeen and found the note to be your "own writing." "How long have you "known of this offence?" "Some months." "Why, Sir, did you not ſeaſonably ad-"moniſh me for this crime?" "I was "ſo hurt and grieved, and my friendſhip "ſo great, I could not bear to tell you." Mr. Briton then told the parſon, that his friendſhip was ſo fine and ſubtle, it was

inviſible to an Engliſh eye; and that Goſpel miniſters in England did not prove their friendſhip by telling calumnious ſtories to every body but the perſon concerned. "But, I ſuppoſe," added he, "this is genuine New-England friend-"ſhip, and merits thanks more than a "ſupple-jack!" The parſon, with a leering look, ſneaked away towards his wife; and Briton left the colony without any civil or eccleſiaſtical puniſhment, telling the Scotchman that the Deacon's daughter had money, and the parſon faith without eyes, or he ſhould never have been accuſed of making love to one who was naturally ſo great an enemy to Cupid.——Of ſuch or worſe ſort being the reception foreign ſettlers may expect from the inhabitants of Connecticut, it is no wonder that few or none chuſe to venture among them.

The cuſtom of ſettling and diſmiſſing a *ſober diſſenting* miniſter is very ſingu-

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lar. All the pariſhioners meet, and vote to apply to the aſſociation for a candidate; and one is accordingly ſent. If he pleaſes, the people vote to give him a call: if he accepts the call, the actual communicants, and they alone, make the covenant between him and them as Chriſt's church, and thus they are *married* to him. After the candidate is ordained, others, by acknowledging and ſwearing to ſupport the covenant, become *married* to him alſo. [*N. B.* Baptiſm is not ſufficient to take them out of their natural ſtate.] The call is an invitation from the pariſhioners to the candidate to take upon him the miniſterial office of their church, on condition that he be allowed 300*l.* or 400*l.* ſettlement, and, perhaps, 100*l.* ſalary, beſides wood, &c. &c. during his reſidence among them in that capacity. The candidate, after looking round him, and finding no better terms offered from any other pariſh, anſwers in this manner: "Brethren

"and

"and friends, I have conſidered of your "call; and, after many faſtings and "prayers, I find it to be the call of God, "and cloſe with your offer." The church then appoints a day for his ordination, and the miniſters who ſhall aſſiſt in the ceremony, which is as follows: 1. The meeting is opened with an hymn: 2. ſome-one makes a prayer: 3. another hymn ſucceeds: 4. a ſermon: 5. another prayer: 6. the covenant is read: 7. the prayer of conſecration, with impoſition of hands by the miniſters: 8. the right hand of fellowſhip, which conveys that half of miniſterial power which I have already ſpoken of as communicated by the churches (p.143): 9. the charge; that is, to behave well in the office whereto God has called him: 10. a prayer: 11. another hymn: 12. the young miniſter diſmiſſes with his benediction. Numerous as the ceremonies are in a miniſter's ordination, there are but few judged neceſſary

ceſſary in diſmiſſing him—a majority of the church is enough to turn the miniſter from bed and board, or, in their language, "to *divorce* him;" — which happens more frequently than is decent. The miniſter has no remedy but in appealing to the aſſociation, which ſtep entitles him to his ſalary till diſmiſſed by that *powerful body*. —— Incontinency, intemperance, lying, and idleneſs, are the common accuſations brought againſt the miniſter, but ſeldom founded in truth, and yet always proved by knights of the poſt. However, the miniſter carries off his ſettlement, in caſe he is diſmiſſed for immoralities, but not if he turns churchman; then his old pariſhioners are mean enough to ſue for the ſettlement. A recent inſtance of this kind happened at New-London, where the miniſter, Doctor Mather Byles, deſired a diſmiſſion, which was given him; but, finding the Doctor's deſign was to become a churchman,

man, the people demanded the ſettlement given him twelve years before. The Doctor, with a ſpirit worthy of himſelf and his venerable anceſtors, returned the money with, "You are welcome to it, "ſince it proves to the world that you "could not accuſe me of any thing "more agreeable to ungenerous minds."

The manner of viſiting the ſick in this province is more terrible than charitable. The miniſter demands of the ſick if he be converted, when, and where? If the anſwers are conformable to the ſyſtem of the miniſter, it is very well; if not, the ſick is given over as a non-elect, and no object of prayer. Another miniſter is then ſent for, who aſks if the ſick be willing to die—if he hates God—if he be willing to be damned, if it pleaſe God to damn him? Should he anſwer No, this miniſter quits him as did the former. Finally, the ſick man dies, and ſo falls out of their hands into better.

Amidſt

Amidſt all the darkneſs of ſuperſtition that ſurrounds the ſtate, the humanity it ſhews to poor ſtrangers ſeized with ſickneſs in the colony, or to ſuch perſons as are ſhipwrecked upon its coaſts, ſhines with diſtinguiſhed luſtre. Theſe unfortunate ſufferers are immediately provided with neceſſaries of every kind by order of the ſelectmen, whoſe expences are reimburſed out of the colony treaſury.

Thus is laudably employed a part of the money allowed for contingencies (ſee p. 278); but another part is conſumed in a very different manner. It frequently happens, that whenever the Epiſcopalians become ſo numerous in a pariſh, as to gain the aſcendency over the *Sober Diſſenters*, and the latter cannot, by their own ſtrength, either deſtroy the epiſcopal, or ſupport their own church, the Governor and Council, with the advice of the Conſociation, kindly relieve them with an annual grant, out of the public treaſury,

treaſury, ſometimes to the amount of the whole ſum paid into it by every denomination in the pariſh. An act of charity of this kind lately took place at Chelſea, in Norwich, where the *Sober Diſſenters* were few and poor, and without a meeting-houſe or miniſter; ſo that they were obliged to walk a mile to a meeting, or go to church. The young people choſe the latter, which alarmed the *Sober Diſſenters* to ſuch a degree, that they applied for and obtained from the generous Governor and his virtuous Council 300*l.* per annum out of the public treaſury, beſides the duties on the veſſels of churchmen at that port. This largition enabled them to build a meeting and ſettle a miniſter. When the churchmen complained of this abuſe of public money, the Governor anſwered, "The Aſſembly has the ſame right to "ſupport chriſtianity, as the Society for "the Propagation of the Goſpel in foreign "Parts, or the Parliament of Great Britain."

The

The murmurs of the people, on the collection of the revenue, beſpeak embezzlements of another kind. It ſhould ſeem that they believed the General Aſſembly to be in the ſame predicament the Devil thought Job was, when he ſaid, "*Doth Job ſerve God for nought?*"

Eſtates in Connecticut paſs from generation to generation by gavelkind; ſo that there are few perſons, except of the labouring claſs, who have not freeholds of their own to cultivate. A general mediocrity of ſtation being thus conſtitutionally promoted, it is no wonder that the rich man is deſpiſed and the poor man's bleſſing is his poverty. In no part of the world are *les petits* and *les grands* ſo much upon a par as here, where none of the people are deſtitute of the conveniences of life, and the ſpirit of independence. From their infancy, their education as citizens points out no diſtinction between licentiouſneſs and liberty; and

and their religion is ſo muffled with ſuperſtition, ſelf-love, and provincial enmity, as not yet to have taught them that humility and reſpect for others, which from others they demand. Notwithſtanding theſe effects of the levelling plan, there are many exceptions to be found in the province of gentlemen of large eſtates and generous principles.

The people commonly travel on horſeback; and the ladies are capable of teaching their neighbours the art of horſemanſhip. There are few coaches in the colony; but many chaiſes and whiſkeys. In the winter, the ſleigh is uſed; a vehicle drawn by two horſes, and carrying ſix perſons in its box, which hangs on four poſts ſtanding on two ſteel ſliders, or large ſcates.

Dancing, fiſhing, hunting, ſcating, and riding in ſleighs on the ice, are all the amuſements allowed in the colony.

Smuggling is rivetted in the conſtitu-

tions

tions and practice of the inhabitants of Connecticut, as much as ſuperſtition and religion; and their province is a ſtore-houſe for the ſmugglers of the neighbouring colonies. They conſcientiouſly ſtudy to cheat the King of thoſe duties, which, they ſay, God and nature never intended ſhould be paid. From the governor down to the tithing-man, who are ſworn to ſupport the laws, they will aid ſmugglers, reſiſt collectors, and mob informers. This being a popular government, all the officers are appointed by the freeholders. There are very ſevere laws againſt bribery. The candidates are not ſuffered to give a dinner, or a glaſs of cyder, on the day of election, to a voter. Indeed, bribery is the next greateſt crime to the breach of the Sabbath; yet open bribery, eſtabliſhed by cuſtom immemorial in Rhode-Iſland, is more praiſeworthy than the practice of Connecticut. I will give the reader ſome idea of the

mode in which an election is managed in Connecticut. All the voters in a township convene in the town meeting-house. One of the miniſters, after prayers, preaches from ſome ſuch text as, "*Jabez* "*was more honourable than all his brethren.*" The people keep their ſeats, while the conſtables take their votes in a box; and, if a voter has not his vote written, the conſtable gives him one. So Jabez is elected; and the meeting is concluded with a prayer of thanks to the Lord God of Iſrael for "turning the hearts of his "people againſt the enemies of Zion, "and for uniting them in Jabez, the "man after his own heart."—The manner in which the preacher treats his text, will more particularly appear from the animadverſion of a certain quaker on one of theſe occaſions. "Friend," ſaid he to the pedagogue, "I do thee no wrong "in telling thee that thou has prayed and "preached againſt bribery, but forgot "to

" to keep thy tongue from ſpeaking evil " againſt thy neighbour. Doſt thou think " the Lord will regard thy preaching ſo " much as the voters whom thou doſt call " freemen? If thou believeſt it, thou " haſt bribed not only the people, but " the Lord alſo, to reject Ebenezer and " Benjamin." The preacher called upon the conſtable to take away this babbler, and open the meeting; which was done, and Ebenezer and Benjamin were rejected by the voters.

The men, in general, throughout the province, are tall, ſtout, and robuſt. The greateſt care is taken of the limbs and bodies of infants, which are kept ſtrait by means of a board; a practice learnt of the Indian women, who abhor all crooked people: ſo that deformity is here a rarity. Another cuſtom derived from the Indians is, to welcome a new-born infant into the world with urine and honey, the effects of which are wonderful; and hence

it is that at groanings there are always a little boy and a rattle-ſnake's ſkin, the latter of which prevents numbneſs and the cramp. The women are fair, handſome, genteel. They have, indeed, adopted various cuſtoms of the Indian women; but cannot learn, like them, how to ſupport the pains of child-bearing without a groan. Naturaliſts and ſurgeons have not been able to aſſign a reaſon why a negro woman ſhould have a hundred pains, a white woman ten, and an Indian none. Some have ſaid that the fatigues and hardſhips which the negroes endure, are the cauſe; but the Indians undergo many more:—others have ſaid it is owing to the change of climate; but this is ſuppletory:—while the enthuſiaſtic divines attribute it to the ſin of Eve, and to the curſe laid on the Canaanites. The deiſts aſk thoſe divines, If Eve was not the common mother of the white, black, and copper-coloured women; and how

it appears that negroes are the deſcendants of the people of Canaan? Their anſwer is, All nature is myſtery.

The women of Connecticut are ſtrictly virtuous, and to be compared to the prude rather than the European polite lady. They are not permitted to read plays; cannot converſe about whiſt, quadrille, or operas; but will freely talk upon the ſubjects of hiſtory, geography, and the mathematics. They are great caſuiſts and polemical divines; and I have known not a few of them ſo well ſkilled in Greek and Latin, as often to put to the bluſh learned gentlemen.

Notwithſtanding the modeſty of the females is ſuch, that it would be accounted the greateſt rudeneſs for a gentleman to ſpeak before a lady of a garter, knee, or leg, yet it is thought but a piece of civility to aſk her to BUNDLE; a cuſtom as old as the firſt ſettlement in 1634. It is certainly innocent, virtuous, and pru-

dent; or the puritans would not have permitted it to prevail among their offſpring, for whom in general they would ſuffer crucifixion. Children brought up with the chaſteſt ideas, with ſo much religion, as to believe that the omniſcient God ſees them in the dark, and that angels guard them when abſent from their parents, will not, nay, cannot act a wicked thing. People who are influenced more by luſt, than by a ſerious faith in God, who is too pure to behold iniquity with approbation, ought never to *bundle*. If any man, thus a ſtranger to the love of virtue, of God, and the chriſtian religion, ſhould *bundle* with a young lady in New-England, and behave himſelf unſeemly towards her, he muſt firſt melt her into paſſion, and expel heaven, death, and hell, from her mind, or he will undergo the chaſtiſement of negroes turned mad—if he eſcape with life, it will be owing to the parents flying from their bed to protect

protect him. The Indians, who had this method of courtſhip, when the Engliſh firſt arrived among them in 1634, are the moſt chaſte ſet of people in the world. Concubinage and fornication are vices none of them are addicted to, except ſuch as forſake the laws of Hobbamockow and turn chriſtians. The ſavages have taken many female priſoners, carried them back 300 miles into their country, and kept them ſeveral years, and yet not a ſingle inſtance of their violating the laws of chaſtity has ever been known. This cannot be ſaid of the French, or of the Engliſh, whenever Indian or other women have fallen into their hands. I am no advocate for temptation; yet muſt ſay, that *bundling* has prevailed 160 years in New-England, and, I verily believe, with ten times more chaſtity than the ſitting on a ſopha. I had daughters, and ſpeak from near forty years experience. *Bundling* takes place only in cold ſeaſons of the

year—the ſopha in ſummer is more dangerous than the bed in winter. About the year 1756, Boſton, Salem, Newport, and New-York, reſolving to be more polite than their anceſtors, forbade their daughters *bundling* on the bed with any young men whatever, and introduced a ſopha to render courtſhip more palatable and Turkiſh. Whatever it was owing to, whether to the ſopha, or any uncommon exceſs of the *feu d'eſprit*, there went abroad a report, that this *raffinage* produced more *natural conſequences* than all the *bundling* among the boors with their *rurales pedantes*, through every village in New-England beſides.

In 1766, a clergyman from one of the polite towns, went into the country, and preached againſt the unchriſtian cuſtom of young men and maidens lying together on a bed. He was no ſooner out of the church, than attacked by a ſhoal of good old women, with, "Sir, do you think

"we

" we and our daughters are naughty,
" becauſe we allow of *bundling?*" He anſwered, " You *lead yourſelves into* " *temptation* by it." They all replied at once, " Sir, have you been told thus, or " has experience taught it you?" The Levite began to lift up his eyes, and to conſider of his ſituation, and, bowing, ſaid, " I have been told ſo." The ladies, *unâ voce*, bawled out, " Your informers, " Sir, we conclude, are thoſe city ladies " who prefer a ſopha to a bed: we ad- " viſe you to alter your ſermon by " ſubſtituting the word *Sopha* for *Bun-* " *dling*, and, on your return home, " preach it to them; for experience " has told us that city folks ſend more " children into the country without " father or mothers to own them, than " are born among us: therefore, you ſee, " a ſopha is more dangerous than a bed." The poor prieſt, ſeemingly convinced of his blunder, exclaimed, " *Nec vitia noſtra,*

" *nec*

"*nec remedia pati poſſumus*," hoping hereby to get rid of his gueſts; but an old matron pulled off her ſpectacles, and, looking the prieſt in his face like a Roman heroine, ſaid, "*Noli putare me hæc* "*auribus tuis dare.*" Others cried out to the prieſt to explain his Latin. "The Engliſh," ſaid he, "is this: *Wo is me that I ſojourn in Meſeck, and dwell in the tents of Kedar!* One pertly retorted, *Gladii decuſſati ſunt gemina preſbyteri clavis.* The prieſt confeſſed his error, begged pardon, and promiſed never more to preach againſt *Bundling*, or to think amiſs of the cuſtom: the ladies generouſly forgave him, and went away.

It may ſeem very ſtrange to find this cuſtom of *Bundling* in bed attended with ſo much innocence in New-England, while in Europe it is thought not ſafe or ſcarcely decent to permit a young man and maid to be together in private any-where. But in this quarter of the old world the

viciouſneſs of the one, and the ſimplicity of the other, are the reſult merely of education and habit. It ſeems to be a part of heroiſm, among the poliſhed nations of it, to ſacrifice the virtuous fair-one, whenever an opportunity offers, and thence it is concluded that the ſame principles actuate thoſe of the new world. It is egregiouſly abſurd to judge of all countries by one. In Spain, Portugal, and Italy, jealouſly reigns; in France, England, and Holland, ſuſpicion; in the Weſt and Eaſt Indies, luſt; in New-England, ſuperſtition. Theſe four blind deities govern Jews, Turks, Chriſtians, Infidels, and Heathen. Superſtition is the moſt amiable. She ſees no vice with approbation but perſecution, and ſelf-preſervation is the cauſe of her ſeeing that. My inſular readers will, I hope, believe me, when I tell them, that I have ſeen, in the Weſt-Indies, naked boys and girls (ſome 15 or 16 years of age) waiting at table and at tea,

tea, even when twenty or thirty virtuous Engliſh ladies were in the room; who were under no more embarraſſment at ſuch an awful ſight in the eyes of Engliſh people that have not travelled abroad, than they would have been at the ſight of ſo many ſervants in livery. Shall we cenſure the ladies of the Weſt-Indies as vicious above all their ſex, on account of this local cuſtom? By no means; for long experience has taught the world that the Weſt-Indian white ladies are virtuous prudes. Where ſuperſtition reigns, fanaticiſm will be miniſter of ſtate; and the people, under the taxation of zeal, will ſhun what is commonly called vice with ten times more care than the polite and civilized chriſtians, who know what is right and what is wrong from reaſon and revelation. Happy would it be for the world, if reaſon and revelation were ſuffered to controul the mind and paſſions of the great and wiſe men of the

the earth, as ſuperſtition does thoſe of the ſimple and leſs poliſhed! When America ſhall erect ſocieties for the promotion of chaſtity in Europe, in return for the eſtabliſhment of European arts in the American capitals; then Europe will diſcover that there is more chriſtian philſoſophy in American *Bundling* than can be found in the cuſtoms of nations more polite.

I ſhould not have ſaid ſo much about *Bundling*, had not a learned Divine * of the Engliſh church publiſhed his Travels through ſome parts of America, wherein this remarkable cuſtom is repreſented in an unfavourable light, and as prevailing among the *lower claſs* of people. The truth is, the cuſtom prevails among all claſſes, to the great honour of the country, its religion, and ladies. The virtuous may be tempted; but the tempter is deſpiſed. Why it ſhould be thought

* Dr. Burnaby.

incredible

incredible for a young man and a young woman innocently and virtuouſly to lie down together in bed with a great part of their cloaths on, I cannot conceive. Human paſſions may be alike in every region; but religion, diverſified as it is, operates differently in different countries. Upon the whole, had I daughters now, I would venture to let them *bundle* on the bed, or even on the ſopha, after a proper education, ſooner than adopt the Spaniſh mode of forcing young people to prattle only before the lady's mother the chitchat of artleſs lovers. Could the four quarters of the world produce a more chaſte, exemplary, and beautiful company of wives and daughters than are in Connecticut, I ſhould not have remaining one favourable ſentiment for the province. But the ſoil, the rivers, the ponds, the ten thouſand landſkips, together with the virtuous and lovely women which now adorn the ancient kingdoms

doms of Connecticote, Saſſacus, and Quinnipiog, would tempt me into the higheſt wonder and admiration of them, could they once be freed of the ſkunk, the moping-owl, rattle-ſnake, and fanatic chriſtian.

My readers will naturally be deſirous of information in what manner the people of Connecticut conducted themſelves in regard to the ſtamp-act, which has proved the ſubject of ſo much ſpeculation and controverſy both in America and Europe: I will, therefore, give a particular account of their proceedings concerning it; which will perhaps appear to have been of far greater conſequence than is generally ſuppoſed in England.

The American coloniſts were no ſooner extricated from all danger of Gallic depredation by the peace of 1763, than they began to manifeſt ſymptoms of ingratitude and rebellion againſt their deliverers. Connecticut, on ſeveral accounts, particularly

ticularly that of its *free* conſtitution in church and ſtate, which prevented every interruption from a King's Governor, was fixed upon as the fitteſt ſite for raiſing the firſt fruits of jealouſy and diſſaffection. Nor did the hatred, which kept the province at eternal ſtrife within itſelf on all other occaſions, prevent its political coincidence upon this. In 1764, delegates from every diſſenting aſſociation in America convened at Newhaven, and ſettled their plan of operations. They voted, that the American vine was endangered by the encroachments of the Engliſh parliament, and the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts; that epiſcopacy was eſtabliſhed in Nova-Scotia, and miſſionaries maintained by the Engliſh government, while New-England and other American ſtates were taxed to ſupport that ſame government; that a league and covenant ought to be made and ſigned by all good proteſtants againſt the machinations

nations of their enemies, and in defence of their civil and religious liberties; that it was the duty of all good proteſtants to ſtand upon their guard, and collect and ſend every kind of intereſting intelligence to the Moderator at Hertford, whoſe buſineſs would be to communicate the ſame in his circular letters to the true friends of proteſtant liberty.

In my opinion, whoever does not perceive the ſpirit of civil as well as religious independence in this convention and theſe reſolutions of diſſenting divines, muſt be politically blind.

Whilſt Mr. Grenville was exerting his financial faculties for the relief of the mother-country, ready to ſink under the load of expence brought upon her by that war which had opened an avenue to higheſt exaltation for her American offſpring, Connecticut was early advertiſed by merchants, divines, and ladies, in England, that the parliament was about to

give the colonies a ſpecimen of Engliſh burthens. The conſociation ordered a faſt, to deprecate the threatened judgments. This faſt was ſerved up with ſermons pointing out the reigns of wicked kings, and what the fathers of the howling wilderneſs of America had ſuffered from the Kings, Lords, and Biſhops, in the laſt century; and concluded with, "One woe is paſt, and behold, there "come two woes more hereafter!"

A requiſition having been made in 1763 that each colony in America ſhould raiſe a revenue to aſſiſt Great-Britain in diſcharging the national debt, which had been partly incurred at their requeſt, and for their preſervation, the General Aſſembly was inſtructed by Dr. Franklin and others how to act. Accordingly, the Aſſembly reſolved not to raiſe any money towards the national debt, or any national expences, till the Parliament ſhould remove the navigation act, which, they

they ſaid, was advantageous to Great-Britain, and diſadvantageous to America; and, therefore, Great Britain, in defraying the whole of the national expence, did nothing more than juſtice required, ſo long as that act ſhould be continued. Such were the arguments and reſolution of the General Aſſembly, although their agent in England had informed them, that, if they refuſed to comply with the requiſition of the miniſter, the Parliament would tax them.

The agent's intelligence proved to be well grounded. In 1765, the Stamp act paſſed, becauſe the colonies had refuſed to tax themſelves. News ſo important ſoon arrived in America; and the Conſociation of Connecticut appointed another faſt, and ordered *the angels to ſound their trumpets*, and *great plagues followed*. Thomas Fitch, the Governor, ſhewed ſome diſlike to the proceedings of the Conſociation, but was given to underſtand

that Chriſt's miniſters acted by an authority ſuperior to that of a Governor or a King. The epiſcopalians, and many ſects, ſaw no reaſon for keeping the faſt; but the Governor obſerved it with a view to ſecure his election the next year, and was ſucceſsful. The epiſcopalians were rewarded for their diſobedience with what was called "A new "religious Comic Liturgy," which was printed and circulated through the colony, as the performance of Dr. Franklin, and acted in many towns by the young people on evenings, by way of ſport and amuſement. The Litany was altered in many places, eſpecially in the paragraphs reſpecting the King, Nobility, &c. and inſtead of *We beſeech thee to hear us, good Lord!* was ſubſtituted, *We beſeech thee, O Cromwell! to hear* [*our prayers*] *us—O holy, bleſſed and glorious Trinity!* was altered thus, *O Chatham! Wilkes! and Franklin! have mercy upon us.*

us. From plague, peſtilence, famine, &c. was followed by *O Cromwell! deliver us.* An epiſcopal clergyman had courage enough to complain of theſe blaſphemous proceedings, and the grand jury indicted the comic actors; but the magiſtrate to whom the complaint was made, refuſed to grant a warrant, uſing worſe malediction againſt the King than was contained in the ludicrous Litany. Hereupon the Grand Jury indicted the magiſtrate for high treaſon, but no magiſtrate could be found of reſolution enough to grant a warrant againſt the traitor. However, the Comic Liturgy was acted but privately afterwards, and, upon the repeal of the ſtamp-act, was ſuppreſſed as far as they could do it.

This ſecond faſt was ſanctified with preaching on this and ſimilar texts, *And there aroſe a new King in Egypt who remembered not Joſeph*; and with praying God to grant the King an heart of fleſh,

and to remove popery out of the Britiſh Parliament.

The ſtamp-act was to take place in November, 1765; ſome months before which the ſtamp-maſter, Jared Ingerſol, Eſq. who had been the colony's agent in England, arrived at Newhaven, in Connecticut. In September, a ſpecial Aſſembly was convened at Hertford, for the purpoſe of conſidering what ſteps to take. As if to avoid acknowledging the ſupremacy of the Britiſh Parliament, they determined not to apply themſelves for the repeal of the act; but ſecretly encouraged a number of lawyers, merchants, and divines, to meet, by their own authority, at New-York, for that purpoſe. In the mean time, three mobs were raiſed under Durgy, Leach, and Parſons, who by different routs marched towards Newhaven to ſeize the ſtamp-maſter. They ſucceeded; and, having brought their priſoner before the Aſſembly-houſe at Hertford,

ford, they gave him the alternative to reſign or die. Mr. Ingerſol appealed ſeveral times by confidential meſſengers to the Aſſembly then ſitting; but finding them inclined to countenance the mob, he was forced to reſign, and authenticate the ſame by whirling firſt his hat and next his wig three times round his head, and then into the air; whilſt the General Aſſembly and Conſociation (which laſt venerable body never fails to be ready with its counſel and aſſiſtance on all ſalutary occaſions) ſhouted with the multitude, from their windows, at the glorious atchievement.

This ſpecial Aſſembly, having ſufficiently manifeſted the part they wiſhed the colony to take, broke up, leaving further proceedings to the mob*, who con-

* The following inſtance will ſhew that a Connecticut mob of *Sober Diſſenters* is not inferior to a London mob of *drunken conformiſts*, either in

continued to act up to the ſpecimen already given; and to the congreſs at New York, which

point of ingenuity, low humour, or religious mockery:

The *ſtamp-maſter* was declared by the mob at Hertford to be dead. The mob at Lebanon undertook to ſend INGERSOL *to his own place*. They made three effigies: one to repreſent Mr. Grenville; another Ingerſol; and a third, the Devil. The laſt was dreſſed with a wig, hat, and black coat, given by parſon Solomon Williams, of Lebanon. Mr. Grenville was honoured with a hat, wig, and coat, a preſent from Mr. Jonathan Trumbull, who was afterwards choſen Governor. Mr. Ingerſol was dreſſed in red, with a lawyer's wig, a wooden ſword, and his hat under his left arm, by the generoſity of Joſeph Trumbull. Thus equipped, the effigies were put into a cart with ropes about their necks, and drawn towards the gallows. A dialogue enſued between the criminals. Some friendſhip ſeemed to ſubſiſt between Mr. Grenville and the Devil, while nothing but ſneers and frowns paſſed from the Devil to Ingerſol; and the fawning reverence of the latter gave his infernal highneſs ſuch offence, that he turned up his breech and diſcharged fire, brimſtone,

which met there accordingly, agreed upon and tranſmitted to England a petition for a repeal of the obnoxious act.

The

ſtone, and tar, in Ingerſol's face, ſetting him all in a blaze; which, however, Mr. Grenville generouſly extinguiſhed with a ſquirt. This was many times repeated. As the proceſſion advanced, the mob exclaimed, "Behold the juſt re-"ward of our *agent*, who ſold himſelf to Grenville, "like Judas, *at a price!*" In this manner the farce was continued till midnight, at which time they arrived at the gallows; where a perſon in a long ſhirt, in deriſion of the ſurplice of a church clergyman, addreſſed the criminals with republican atticiſms, ralleries, &c. concluding thus: "May "your deaths be tedious and intolerable, and may "your ſouls *ſink quick down to hell*, the reſidence of "tyrants, traitors, and devils!" The effigies were then turned off, and, after hanging ſome time, were hoiſted upon the top of a huge pile of wood, and burnt, that their bodies might ſhare a ſimilar fate with their ſouls. This pious tranſaction exalted the character of Mr. Trumbull, and facilitated his election to the office of Governor: and what was of further advantage to him, his mob judged that the bones of Ingerſol's effigy merited

The October ſeſſion of the General-Aſſembly is always holden at Newhaven: there

rited chriſtian burial according to the rites of the church of England, though he had been brought up a Sober Diſſenter; and reſolved, therefore, to bury his bones in Hebron. Accordingly thither they repaired; and, having made a coffin, dug a grave in a croſs ſtreet, and made every other preparation for the interment, they ſent for the epiſcopal clergyman there to attend the funeral of the bones of Ingerſol the traitor. The clergyman told the meſſengers that neither his office nor perſon were to be ſported with, nor was it his buſineſs to bury *Sober Diſſenters*, who abuſe the church while living. The mob, enraged at this anſwer, ordered a party to bring the clergyman by force, or ſend him to hell after Ingerſol. This alarmed the people of the town, who inſtantly loaded their muſkets in defence of the clergyman. Thus checked in their mad career, the mob contented themſelves with a ſolemn funeral proceſſion, drums beating, and horns blowing, and buried the coffin in the croſs ſtreet, one of the pantomimes bawling out, *We commit* this traitor's bones *to the earth, aſhes to duſt and duſt to aſhes, in ſure and certain hope* that his ſoul is in hell with all tories and enemies of

there and then they were informed by Mr. Dyer *, who had made one of the petitioners at New-York, that it was recommended by the Congreſs for the colonial Governors to take the oath preſcribed by the ſtamp act. The General Aſſembly, however, voted that the Governor of Connecticut ſhould not take it; and moreover determined to continue

of Zion. Then, having driven a ſtake through the coffin, and each caſt a ſtone upon the grave, they broke a few windows, curſed ſuch clergymen as rode in chaiſes and were above the controul of God's people, and went off with a witleſs ſaying, viz. "It is better to live with the church militant "than with the church triumphant."

* This Mr. Dyer had been in England, had petitioned for, and, through Dr. Franklin's intereſt, obtained a new office at the port of New-London, viz. that of Comptroller; but afterwards had thought proper to reſign that office, in order to be made a judge of the ſuperior court and one of the council,---and, forſooth, that a ſtranger only might ſerve the King of Great Britain in the character of a *publican* in Connecticut.

Mr.

Mr. Fitch in his office, notwithſtanding the disfranchiſement incident on his refuſal, if he would be guided by their advice; and the Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Devotion, one of the Repreſentatives, and Eliphalet Dyer (above mentioned), one of the council, offered to pay the impoſed fine of 1000*l.* However, the Governor preſented himſelf before the Council, whoſe buſineſs it was to adminiſter the oath; but which, it is thought, Mr. Fitch preſumed would be denied, and therefore artfully deviſed this means at once of avoiding the oath and ſhifting the penalties from himſelf upon them. Seven out of twelve, ſuſpecting the Governor's deſign, put their fingers in their ears, ſhuffled their feet, and ran groaning out of the houſe; the other five ſtaid, and adminiſtered the oath, with a view to ſave themſelves and the charter, and direct the wrath of the people againſt the Governor; but in this they were miſtaken, incurring

curring in common with him the odium of the patriots.

The ſtamp-act having thus gained footing, the Aſſembly broke up. Legal proceedings alſo were diſcontinued, and the courts of juſtice ſhut. The Conſociation and Aſſociations kept frequent faſts of their own appointment, praying and preaching againſt Roman-Catholic rulers, Arminian governors, falſe-hearted counſellors, and epiſcopizing curates. Hereupon the mobs became outrageous: ſedition was law, and rebellion goſpel. The late ſtamp-maſter was called a traitor to his country, and the epiſcopalians enemies to Zion and liberty.

The faſtings, prayers, and riots, brought about a revolution in the colony. Fitch, who had taken, and the five aſſiſtants who had adminiſtered, the oath, as well as many officers both civil and military, who declined to take a rebellious part, were diſmiſſed from their poſts; and a new

a new Governor, other counſellors, &c. were choſen, and the people fitted for every kind of miſchief; all, however, under the pretence of religion and liberty. The patriotic Mr. Dyer diſtinguiſhed himſelf by furniſhing the faſting miniſters with proper materials to inflame the minds of the people againſt the juſt demands of the King. One of his Machiavelian dogma's was, that the King claimed the colonies as his patrimony, and intended to raiſe a revenue in each province; and that, having gained this point, his purpoſe was to govern England by America, and America by England, and thereby ſubvert liberty and eſtabliſh tyranny in both, as the Kings of France had done by means of the various parliaments in that country. Mr. Dyer declared he had this information from the beſt authority in England; and added, that the liberties of both countries depended on America reſiſting the ſtamp-

ſtamp-act, even unto blood. Theſe and ſuch-like reveries ſupplied the miniſters of the goſpel with a great body of political divinity, and the mob with courage to break churchmens windows, and cry out, "No Biſhops! no popery! nor "King, Lords, and Tyrants!" Every thing but decency and order over-run the colony. Indeed, the General Aſſembly kept up their meetings, but it was only to tranſact ſuch buſineſs as was not affected by the ſtamp-act. The mobs of the faſting miniſters continued their lawleſs proceedings, without further interruption and impediment than what they met with from the ſtrenuous exertions of the King's friends, who had repeatedly ſaved the lives of the ſtamp-maſter, Governor Fitch, the five rejected counſellors, the epiſcopal clergy, and many good ſubjects, at the hazard of their own, though they could not preſerve them from daily abuſe and inſult.

The

The mobs, having been ſpirited up and trained to violence and outrage for ſeveral months, began to give ſome alarm even to their inſtigators, eſpecially as they were hitherto diſappointed in their expectations of the act being repealed. The Governor and Council, therefore, directing their attention to the dangerous conſequences of the lawleſs ſtate and refractory temper the people were in, and being ſtruck with the foreſight of their own perilous ſituation, reſolved, early in 1766, to open the courts of law under the ſtamp-act, if the very next packet did not bring certain advice of its repeal; and, all parties, who had cauſes depending in any court, were to be duly notified by the Governor's proclamation. This determination was no leſs mortifying to the mob than grateful to the King's friends, who were convinced that the ſtamp-act ought, both in policy and juſtice, to be enforced, and therefore had riſked their lives,

lives, fortunes, characters, and colonial honours in its ſupport. The patriots, now apparently ſickened with licentiouſneſs, became very complaiſant to the loyaliſts, declaring that, in all their oppoſition to the ſtamp-act, they had meant nothing perſonal, and deſiring to have paſt animoſities buried in oblivion. All things thus ſettled, tranquillity ſeemed to be returning; when, lo! the packet arrived with the fatal news of the repeal of the ſtamp-act. Then a double portion of madneſs ſeized the patriots, who, in their exceſs of joy, *that victory was gained over the beaſt, and over his mark*, utterly forgot their late penitential and tranquil profeſſions; branding the King's friends with the appellations of tories, jacobites, and papiſts. The goſpel miniſters left off their faſting, and turned their mourning into joy and triumph. "Now we be-"hold," ſaid they in their pulpits, "that "Great-Britain is afraid of us; for the

" ſtamp-act is repealed, even upon the " petition of an illegal body of men: if, " therefore, we ſtand faſt *in the liberties* " *wherein Chriſt has made us free*, we " need not fear in future the uſurpations " of the King, Lords, and Biſhops of " England." The accompanying claim of Parliament to the power of binding America in all caſes whatſoever, was, indeed, a thorn which galled them much; but they found a ſalvo in ordering a copy of the repeal to be burnt under the gallows by the common hangman. The General Aſſembly alſo ſtepped forward, and voted the populace ſeveral barrels of powder and puncheons of rum, together with 100*l.* in money, to celebrate the feſtival. A tremendous mob met together at Hertford, and received their preſent. The powder was placed in a large brick ſchool, and the rum on the common ſquare. While each one was contending for his ſhare, the powder took fire, and blew up

up the ſchool, killing 15 or 16 perſons, and wounding many. This diſaſter ſhook the houſe where the Conſociation was ſitting; upon which they reſolved that Heaven did not approve of their rejoicings, becauſe the repeal was but partial; they, therefore, ordered a new faſt to do away the iniquities of that day, and to implore the Supreme to direct them in what manner to guard againſt the machinations of *the locuſts, who had a king over them, whoſe name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek Apollyon.*

This faſt was cooked up with a favourite text in New-England, viz. "*He reproved even Kings for their ſake.*" From theſe words the preachers proved that the King's *power lay in his* mouth and *in his tail*, which, like *a ſerpent, did hurt for a month and a year*; and that God would protect his people againſt *the murders, the ſorceries, the fornication, the theſts*, of biſhops, popes, and

kings, *and make nations angry, and give them power to judge and to deſtroy thoſe who would deſtroy his prophets and his ſaints.* In this day of great humiliation, the prophets entertained the ſaints with a ſpice of rejoicing, becauſe *Victory was gotten over the beaſt, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name:*—" therefore," ſaid they, "*rejoice, O inhabitants of the earth and of the ſea,* becauſe we can yet buy and ſell without *the mark, or the name of the beaſt, or the number of his name.*"

This bombaſtic declamation againſt the authority of Great-Britain raiſed the paſſions of a great portion of the multitude higher than was intended. They had lately been tutored to form high notions of their own conſequence, had been intoxicated with a life of confuſion in a lawleſs country, and had now no reliſh for a government of any kind whatever: accordingly, inflamed by the rhapſodies of the preachers,

preachers, they ſet themſelves againſt that of the colony; arguing, that, if the Lord would *reprove Kings*, Lords, and Biſhops, *for their ſake*, he would alſo *reprove* governors, magiſtrates, and conſociations, *for their ſake*. This revolt of a part of the people was encouraged and ſtrengthened by the adherents of Governor Fitch, the five diſcarded counſellors, and the loyaliſts; ſo that very formidable bodies ſoon appeared in divers towns, threatening deſtruction to the General Aſſembly, conſociation, aſſociations, executive courts, &c. &c. Colonel Street Hall, of Wallingford, a loyaliſt, was appointed General over theſe ſupreme multitudes. They ſoon acquainted the General Aſſembly and Conſociation, that, by the authority that England had been reformed, by the ſame authority ſhould Connecticut be reformed; and Mr. Hall ſent a letter to the judges of the county court, then ſitting at Newhaven, purporting, that it was not

agreeable to the people for them to continue their proceedings, or that any executions ſhould be granted; and concluding thus, "*You, that have ears to hear,* "*hear* what is ſaid unto you;—for *we* "*ſhall quickly come!*" The judges, without heſitation or adjournment, ran out of court, and went home as privately as poſſible. The merchants, the goſpel miniſters, the lawyers, and judges, who had with great zeal inculcated the divine right of the people to reſiſt kings, found themſelves in a ſtarving condition under the exertion of that boaſted right. The General Aſſembly and Aſſociation, however, again convened, and, after much faſting and prayer, reſolved, that the conduct of Street Hall, Eſq. and his aſſociates, was ſeditious and treaſonable; and ordered the Attorney-General, Colonel Elihu Hall, to indict his nephew Street Hall, for treaſonable practices. The Attorney-General refuſed to comply with their mandate, where-

whereupon he was diſmiſſed, and James Hillhouſe, Eſq. appointed in his place, who indited Street Hall; but no ſheriff dared ſerve the warrant. Street Hall ordered his people to prepare for battle, and to be ready at a minute's warning; and rode about with one ſervant in defiance of the General Aſſembly, who likewiſe prepared to ſupport their power. It was moſt likely that Street Hall would have prevailed, had an engagement taken place; for the epiſcopalians, and all the friends of Mr. Fitch and the five diſmiſſed counſellors, would have ſupported Mr. Hall. But a battle was prevented by the interpoſition of the Conſociation with this curious Goſpel axiom, viz. that it was legal and politic in the people to oppoſe and reſiſt the foreign power which was unjuſtly claimed by the King of Great-Britain; but it was neither politic nor right to oppoſe the magiſtrates and laws made by themſelves. They prevailed on Street Hall to

condeſcend to write to the General Aſſembly, to this effect: "That he was a "friend to the laws and conſtitution of "the colony, and wiſhed to ſupport both; "and ſhould do it, on condition that "they would reſcind their vote, and "that no one ſhould be proſecuted for "what had been done by him and "his aſſociates."—The Aſſembly very gladly voted this overture of Street Hall to be ſatisfactory; and thus peace was re-eſtabliſhed between the Aſſembly and Street Hall. Nevertheleſs, Mr. Hall was greatly cenſured by his partizans for this compromiſe; and he lived in conſtant expectation of their hanging him, till he ſoftened them by this remarkable addreſs in vindication of his conduct:

"We have done," ſaid he, "every "thing in our power to ſupport the autho-"rity of the Britiſh parliament over the "colonies. We have loſt our property, "local reputations, and all colonial of-

"fices

" fices and reſpect among our own coun-
" trymen, in defence of that King and
" Parliament, who have not ſhed a tear
" at our ſufferings, nor failed to ſacrifice
" their own dignity, and their beſt friends,
" to pleaſe a party that will never be eaſy
" until another Oliver ariſe to extirpate
" Kings, Lords, and Biſhops. By hea-
" vens!" added Street Hall, with great energy, " I will reſt my life upon this
" ſingle queſtion, Who would ſtand up in
" defence of a King who prefers his ene-
" mies to his friends?—If you acquit me,
" I ſhall more fully declare my prin-
" ciples."

The mob, after much conſideration, declared their approbation of Mr. Hall's conduct; upon which he reſumed his addreſs nearly as follows:

" Gentlemen, We have once been be-
" trayed and forſaken by the King and
" Parliament of Great-Britain; no de-
" pendence, then, ought henceforth to be
" placed

" placed upon either. It is plain to me,
" that, if we had extirpated the General
" Aſſembly, and all the avowed enemies
" of the conſtitution of Great-Britain, yet
" that very Parliament would have been
" the firſt of all the creation to honour us
" with a gallows for our reward. I
" therefore ſwear, by Him who controuls
" the wheels of time, that, in future, I
" will ſupport the laws and dignity of this
" colony, and never more *put any confi-*
" *dence in Princes*, or the Britiſh Parlia-
" ment. The Saviour of the World
" truſted Judas but once; and it is my opi-
" nion, that thoſe who betray and forſake
" their friends, ought to experience the
" wrath and ingratitude of friends turned
" enemies. In this caſe, baſeneſs is po-
" licy; ingratitude, loyalty; and revenge,
" ---heroic virtue!"

Colonel Street Hall ſpoke with great vehemence, and might be cenſured for his raſhneſs by people who were not in America

America at the time: but his ſentiments reached the hearts of half the King's friends there; for the repeal of the ſtamp-act had fixed in their breaſts an everlaſting hatred of the fickle temper of Britons.

Few people, hereafter, will advance ſixpence in ſupport of any acts of the Parliament of Great-Britain over her colonies. Prior to the year 1766, ſuch a public ſpirit prevailed in America over private intereſt, as would naturally have led the people to conform to any acts of a Britiſh Parliament, from a deep-rooted confidence that the requiſitions of Britain would be no other than the requiſitions of wiſdom and neceſſity. Two thirds, I may ſay with ſafety, of all the people in America, thought there were wiſdom and juſtice in the ſtamp-act, and wiſhed to have it continued, firſt, becauſe they were ſenſible of being greatly indebted to the generoſity and protection of Britain; ſecondly, becauſe they had rather be ſubject to the controul

controul of Parliament in regard to a revenue, than have it raiſed by the authority of their own aſſemblies, who favour the rich and oppreſs the poor; and, thirdly, becauſe the ſtamp-act would have prevented innumerable ſuits at law, the coſts of which in Connecticut have, during the laſt forty years, amounted to ten times as much as all others for war, goſpel, phyſic, the poor, &c. &c. &c. It is impoſſible to deſcribe the diſappointment and mortification they ſuffered by the repeal of that act: it expoſed them to calumny, deriſion, and oppreſſion; it diſheartened all, and occaſioned the defection of many; whilſt their adverſaries triumphed in the encouragement it had given them to proſecute their malicious ſchemes againſt the church, king, laws, and commerce of England. However, in regard to the queſtion of raiſing a revenue in America, I have never met with one American who would not allow (though unwillingly)

ly) the reaſonableneſs of it, with certain conditions and proviſos. Thus, 1. the judges and lawyers required the tax to be impoſed by the General Aſſembly of each province:—2. The merchants, whoſe conſcience is gain, and who commonly conſtitute more than half of the Aſſembly, declared, that, before any revenue was raiſed, the navigation-act ſhould be repealed, and the Eaſt-India Company, and all the monopolies, diſſolved:—3. The Goſpel miniſters, whoſe power in New England is terrible to fleſh and ſpirit, would contribute to a revenue, after the King and Parliament had dropped their claim to ſupreme authority over America, and ſecured the American vine, againſt the domination and uſurpations of biſhops. To theſe ſources may be traced all the objections ever made againſt a revenue in America, which ſpring from three orders of men, of the leaſt real benefit to that country, and whoſe proportion to all others there is not as one to an hundred;

hundred; though they have had the art and addreſs, by impoſition and deluſion, to involve them in their tumultuous, contentious, and ruinous projects and undertakings.—Indeed, the clergy, lawyers, and merchants of European countries, have been repreſented, as the worſt enemies of ſociety—the great promoters of diſcord, war, inſurrections, and rebellions; but the heathen have not yet given us an example how depraved mankind would be without them. However, ſuppoſing the crimination to have foundation, there is one good reaſon to be offered in palliation of it. Moſt governments are too apt to adopt the maxim of rewarding proſperous oppoſing zealots; whilſt the exertions of oppreſſed friends are paſſed over, if not with contempt, at leaſt with ſilent neglect. Hence, men will naturally be induced, in defiance of law and goſpel, to head parties, to become conſequential in the world.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

THE preceding ſheets bring the hiſtory of Connecticut to its lateſt period of amity with Great Britain, agreeable to the plan on which it was begun. I have been adviſed, however, to lay before my readers, in an appendix, a ſummary account of the proceedings of the people of Connecticut immediately leading to their open commencement of hoſtilities againſt the Mother-Country, not only becauſe ſome events are not at all, or erroneouſly known here, but alſo becauſe they will form a ſupplement neceſſary in ſeveral inſtances to what has been already related. Another reaſon which induces me to make the propoſed addition, is, the opportunity it will give me of laying before the Public, by way of introduction, ſome matter which, I flatter myſelf,

myſelf, may not be wholly undeſerving the attention of Government, at, I truſt, an approaching ſignal æra in Britiſh and American hiſtory. This, I am ſure of, that no chimæra of vanity, but a thorough conviction in my own breaſt of the foundation they have in truth, is the ſole motive of my thus committing my thoughts upon the ſubject to the preſs.

Many writers have endeavoured to point out the motive which prompted the Americans to the wiſh of being independent of Great-Britain, who had, for a century and a half, nurſed and protected them with parental tenderneſs; but they have only touched upon the reaſons oſtenſibly held up by the Americans, but which are merely a veil to the true cauſes. Theſe, therefore, I ſhall endeavour to ſet before the reader, unheeding the imputation of arrogance and preſumption I may expoſe myſelf to, and relying upon the knowledge I have of the

the temper and circumſtances of the people for the juſtification of my aſſertions.

In the firſt place, England, as if afraid to venture her conſtitution in America, has kept it at an awful diſtance, and eſtabliſhed in too many of her colonies republicaniſm, wherein the democratic abſorbs the regal and ariſtocratic parts of the Engliſh conſtitution. The people naturally imbibed the idea that they were ſuperior to Kings and Lords, becauſe they controuled their repreſentatives, governors, and their councils. This is the infallible conſequence of popular governments.

Secondly, the Engliſh have, like the Dutch, adopted the errors of ancient Rome, who judged her colonies could be held in ſubjection only by natives of Rome; and therefore all emoluments were carefully with-held from natives of colonies.

Thirdly, the learned and opulent families in America have not been honoured

by their King, like thoſe born in Britain.

Fourthly, the Americans ſaw themſelves deſpiſed by the Britons, "though *bone of their bone*, and *fleſh of their fleſh*:" they felt, and complained of, without redreſs, the ſad effects of convicts, the curſes of human ſociety, and the diſgrace of England, taken from the dungeons, jails, and gibbets, and poured into America as the common ſhore of England, to murder, plunder, and commit outrage upon a people "*whom the King did not delight to honour.*"

Hence the preſent rebellion. Human nature is always ſuch, that men will never ceaſe ſtruggling for honour, wealth, and power, at the expence of gratitude, loyalty, and virtue. Indignation and deſpair ſeized the gentlemen in America, who thought, like Haman, that their affluence and eaſe were nothing worth, ſo long as they lay under their Sovereign's con-

contempt. They declared that the inſult reached the whole continent, in which are to be found only two Baronets of Great-Britain, while all the other inhabitants are held beneath the yeomanry of England. They added, "Let Cæſar trem-"ble! let wealth and private property "depart to deliver our country from the "injuries of our elder brethren." How eaſily might this rebellion have been averted by the *babiole* of titles! With what reaſon factions and diſcontents ſprung up in South-America, may be learned from the dear-bought wiſdom of Spain. The Spaniards born in the vice-royalties of Peru and New Granada, rich and learned, highly eſteemed by their countrymen, and of more influence in their ſeveral provinces than all the nobility, clergy, and merchants, in Spain; whoſe fathers, to enlarge the empire of their ſovereign, emigrated, with the natural rights of Spaniards, to almoſt a burning

world, where they opened rocky mines, toiled in heats and rains to hew out gold and ſilver, to erect and cover royal and noble domes and pave the roads of Heſperia;—thoſe American-born Spaniards, I ſay, were yet, after all, excluded from royal honours and truſt, by a falſe and diſgraceful principle that coloniſts will only be loyal when poor and neglected—a maxim which ſhook ancient Rome, failed Spain, and has thrown Britain into convulſions;—a maxim falſe in nature and experience, without juſtice and without policy;—and, yet, a maxim which men in power have adopted with intention to ſecure to themſelves and their poſterity the monopoly of *noble blood*—without once reflecting, that emigrants, who had been hardy enough to ſtorm rugged mountains in the tranſatlantic world, for the ſake of converting poverty into riches, would afterwards ſeek *honours and noble names* through blaze and ruin,

ruin, with more avidity than adventurers under *Pizarro* ever ſought the wealth of Potoſi and La Plata. Had the Dons of Spain been actuated by principles of juſtice, they would not have treated the Spaniſh natives of South America as aliens, as a race of beings unworthy of royal notice, truſt, and dignity, which they themſelves enjoyed, though they had never wet their fingers in exploring new worlds, or in perforating the golden Andes.—But experience and neceſſity cut ſhort their pride; and compelled them to liberal dealings with their diſtant brethren, on pain of loſing them as they had loſt the Netherlands. No good politician will ſuppoſe merit leſs deſerving of reward, merely becauſe the poſſeſſor of it was born at the diſtance of 5000 miles from Madrid; or that royal favours belong ſolely to the nobility, who ſhine more from their anceſtors virtues than from their own. Spain took the hint in time, and ſhared

royal honours amongſt her younger brethren, which produced a conciliation between her dominions in the two worlds, that age or deſpair can never deſtroy.—Spain tranſported to her colonies her own conſtitution in church and ſtate — rewarded merit in whatever part of her territories it appeared — ſent biſhops to govern and ordain in every church in South America, and they, together with the native nobleſſe, promote harmony, the offspring of juſtice and policy; while North America abounds with diſcord, hatred, and rebellion, entirely from the want of policy and juſtice in their party-coloured charters, and of the honours and privileges of natural-born ſubjects of Great Britain.

It appears to me, that the Britiſh government, in the laſt century, did not expect New-England to remain under their authority; nor did the New-Englanders conſider themſelves as ſubjects, but allies,

of

of Great-Britain. It ſeems that England's intent was to afford an aſylum to the republicans who had been a ſcourge to the Britiſh conſtitution; and ſo, to encourage that reſtleſs party to emigrate, republican charters were granted, and privileges and promiſes given them far beyond what an Engliſhman in England is entitled to. The emigrants were empowered to make laws, in church and ſtate, agreeable to their own will and pleaſure, without the King's approbation—they were excuſed from all quit-rents, all government taxes, and promiſed protection without paying homage to the Britiſh King, and their children entitled to the ſame rights and privileges as if born in England. However hard this bargain was on the ſide of England, ſhe has performed her part, except in this laſt reſpect---indeed the moſt material in policy and in the minds of the principal gentlemen of New-England. The honour of nobility has not been

conferred on any of them; and therefore they have never enjoyed the full privileges and liberties of Britons; but in a degree have ever been held in bondage under their chartered republican ſyſtems, wherein gentlemen of learning and property attain not to equal power with the peaſants. The people of New-England are rightly ſtiled republicans; but a diſtinction ſhould be made between the learned and unlearned, the rich and poor. The latter form a great majority; the minority, therefore, are obliged to wear the livery of the majority, in order to ſecure their election into office. Thoſe very republican gentlemen are ambitious, fond of the power of governing, and grudge no money nor pains to obtain an annual office. What would they not give for a dignity depending not on the fickle will of a multitude, but on the ſteady reaſon and generoſity of a King? The merchants, lawyers, and clergy, to appearance are republicans;

republicans; but I will venture to assert, that not one in a hundred of them is really so. The truth is, they found necessity on one hand, and British neglect on the other, to be so intolerable, that they rather chose to risque their lives and fortunes to bring about a revolution, than continue in the situation they were. As to the multitude, they had no cause of complaint: they were accuser, judge, king, and subjects only to themselves.—The rebellion springs not from them, but the merchants, lawyers, and clergy, who yet are not inimical to the aristocratic branch of government, provided they are admitted to share in it according to their merit. It is true, they, like Calvin, the author of their religion, maintain, that no man can merit any thing of the Great Eternal: nevertheless, they think they have merited the aristocratic honours which emanate from earthly kings; while kings and nobles of the earth imagine themselves to have

have merited more than they yet enjoy, even heaven itſelf, only becauſe they happen to be deſcendants of heroic anceſtors.

It is laid down as a maxim in Engliſh politics, that the ariſtocratic dignity is the great barrier between regal and popular power. Had Charles the Firſt believed and obſerved this doctrine, he had ſaved his own life and the liberties of his people; and had Kings ſince his death entertained the ſame opinion of the Nobility, they would have multiplied and ſpread them in every province as a royal bleſſing due to their ſubjects. Would Britons conſent to give up the Houſe of Lords? If not, why ſhould they wiſh to debar America from ſuch a favour? Should the Engliſh nobility imagine their own importance leſſened by the increaſe of Engliſh Lords, they will not be able to prove that an American peerage would not be as uſeful in that country as an Engliſh peerage is here. Policy and experience ſhew

ſhew that mankind are bound by their intereſt and guided by their proſpects; yet how remiſs has England been in tempting her colonies with her own noble and glorious conſtitution! Is it at all ſurprizing, that, after a long ſufferance of ſuch neglect, and the evils I have pointed out, the hidden fire of indignation ſhould at length break forth in America, with a blaze that ſpreads ruin and death throughout that land, and ſtrikes terror into this! England *now* condeſcends to view the Americans as fellow-ſubjects, and even treats with their generals, though taken from jails and outlawed by herſelf: early juſtice and indulgence would have removed from the parent this humiliating conduct, and united both worlds in one bond of love.—*But the day is far ſpent*, and *will not wrath burn for ever?*

England has alſo been as careful to keep to herſelf her religion and Biſhops as her civil conſtitution and baronies. An

An Indian chief once aſked me, "Whe-
"ther Biſhops were too good or too bad
"for America?" He added, "If they are
"good in England, why not in Ame-
"rica? and if bad, why preſerved in
"England?" A million of churchmen in America have been conſidered not worthy of one biſhop, while eight millions in South Britain, are ſcarcely honoured enough with twenty-ſix: an inſult on common juſtice, which would have extinguiſhed every ſpark of affection in America for the Engliſh church, and created an everlaſting ſchiſm like that between Conſtantinople and Rome, had not the majority of the American epiſcopal clergy been poſſeſſed of leſs ambition than love and zeal. They have ſuffered on both ſides the Atlantic in *name* * and property, for

* William Smith, in his Hiſtory of New-York, p. 56, like his brother Douglas, aſſerts, that the miſſionaries and epiſcopal clergy have been guilty of

for their endeavours to keep up a union between the mother and her children; but

of writing home to the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel "amazing falſhoods and miſrepreſentations;" and he adds, "that it would be an agreeable office to him to diſtinguiſh the innocent from the guilty." Then why not ſo prove his charge? Becauſe, ſays he, in p. 242, "the pru-"dent hiſtorian of his own times will always be a "coward, and never give fire, till death protects "him from the malice and ſtroke of his enemy:" a ſentiment borrowed from the old adage, *Mortui non mordent*, and truly worthy of the writer. But what have been Mr. *Smith*'s character and *prudence* ſince the commencement of the preſent rebellion? Did he not, in 1774, out of his great veneration for chriſtianity, liberty, and his king, excite and encourage the mobs of New-York in their oppoſition to the church, laws, and George III? —In 1775, did not he and his aſſociates, finding themſelves inſufficient to effect their glorious purpoſes, requeſt the aſſiſtance of their chriſtian brethren of Connecticut againſt the mighty enemies of the American Vine, who accordingly repaired thither under the conduct of Waterbury and Wooſter, two villains that were *conceived in ſin and*

but all their arguments and perſuaſions were inſufficient to convince their brethren that England would in future be

and from the womb went ſpeaking lies? Did not they ſoon become maſters of the city, and intolerable tyrants over loyal ſubjects?—In 1776, did not Mr. Smith's mob plunder the city of New-York, not excepting the churches and college; then ſet it on fire, and fly by the blaze into the howling wilderneſs, with the heroes mentioned in his Hiſtory, viz. Livingſton, Schuyler, Morris, and other traitors? From whence, in 1777, did not Mr. Smith return to New-York, by the advice of his comrades, to manifeſt his loyalty and love of the proteſtant religion, to ſerve the Congreſs and his King, and to ſave harmleſs the rebels abovementioned, and their copartners in murder, plunder, and treaſon? Are theſe the virtues, William Smith! that, in 1780, were ſo conſpicuous, as to procure thy being appointed Chief Juſtice of a ſacked and ruined people?—The *imprudent hiſtorian of his own times is no coward*, nor does he fear thy malice, which, above all things, except thy hypocriſy and treachery, *paſſes all human underſtanding*.—"Quelques uns dirent, c'eſt par Beelze-"bul qu'il chaſſe les démons." Les autres dirent, que ſa mere tenoit de l'air de Marie Magdelaine, après que la ſage-femme eut chaſſée trois démons.

more

more generous towards her colonies—One of the firſt fruits of the grand continental meeting of diſſenting divines at Newhaven was a coalition between the republican and the minor part of the epiſcopal clergy, who were ſoon joined by the merchants, lawyers, and planters, with a view of procuring titles, ordination, and government, independent of Great Britain, who had too long played with *divide & impera.*

Of ſuch ſort, I am bold to pronounce to the world, were the REAL ſources of the preſent rebellion in America. The invaſion of this or that colonial right, the oppreſſion of this or that act of parliament, were merely the pretended cauſes of it, which the ill-humour of a miſgoverned people prompted them eagerly to hold up; cauſes, which would never have found exiſtence, whoſe exiſtence had never been neceſſary, if a better ſyſtem of American policy had been adopted, but being produced, the ſhadow of complaint was exhibited

exhibited inſtead of the ſubſtance—pretence, inſtead of reality—every republican pulpit reſounded with invectives againſt the King, Lords, and Commons, who claimed a power to tax and govern the people of America; a power which their charters and anceſtors knew nothing of. "Britons," ſaid they, "call our property "theirs; they conſider us as ſlaves, as "*hewers of wood, and drawers of water*, "to the deſcendants of thoſe tyrants in "church and ſtate, who in the laſt century expelled and perſecuted our fathers "into the wilds of America. We have "charters ſacred as *Magna Charta* and "the Bill of Rights." They declared that the liberties of America ought to be defended with the blood of millions; that the Attorney General ought to impeach the Parliament of Great-Britain, and all its abettors, of high-treaſon, for daring to tax the freemen of America; that each colony was a palatinate, and the people

people the palatine; that the people of Connecticut had as much authority to iſſue a writ of *Quo Warranto* againſt *Magna Charta*, as the King had to order ſuch a writ againſt the charter of Connecticut.

By ravings of this kind did the Sober Diſſenters manifeſt their diſcontents, when the various meaſures for raiſing a revenue in America were adopted by the Britiſh miniſtry. That of ſending tea to America in 1773, ſubject to a duty of 3*d.* in the pound, payable there, particularly excited their clamour, as deſigned, they ſaid, to eſtabliſh a precedent of Britiſh taxation in that country; and, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of the loyaliſts, who ſtrenuouſly exerted themſelves in removing vulgar prejudices, and procuring a reconciliation with circumſtances rendered unavoidable by the neceſſity of the times, they effectually inflamed the minds of the populace, by reading, in

the meetings on Sundays, letters ſaid to have been ſent by Dr. Franklin, J. Temple, and a certain female writer in England, repreſenting the danger of paying any tax impoſed by Parliament, and the evils proteſtantiſm was threatened with by a Roman Catholic King, by jacobites, tories, and the epiſcopal clergy in both countries, all enemies to liberty and the American vine; and adding, that, if the Americans paid the tax on tea, there were 300 other taxes ready to be impoſed upon them, one of which was "50*l.* for every ſon born in wedlock, to maintain the natural children of the Lords and Biſhops in England."

The moderate counſel of the loyaliſts had formerly been attended with ſome effect; but it was forced to give place to the ribaldry juſt mentioned; and an oppoſition much more reſolute was determined upon againſt the tea-act than had been made to the ſtamp-act. A provincial

cial congreſs, committees of correſpondence, committees of ſafety in every town, &c. &c. now ſtarted up, for the purpoſe of ſetting the colony in an uproar againſt the parliament of Great-Britain. To this end contributed not a little the falſhoods and artifices of Mr. Hancock and other Boſtonian merchants, who had in their ſtore-houſes near 40,000 half-boxes of teas ſmuggled from the Dutch, which would never have been ſold, had the Company's teas been once admitted into America, as the latter were not only the better in quality, but, the duty being reduced from 1*s.* to 3*d.* would be alſo the much cheaper commodity. Mr. Hancock and his compatriots, therefore, were by no means wanting in endeavours to procure the firſt teas which arrived in New-England the reception they met with *in the harbour* of Boſton. That famous exploit afforded them an opportunity of clearing their warehouſes, which they prudently reſolv-

ed to do as ſoon as poſſible, leſt the reception of the Company's tea in other provinces, or other poſſible circumſtances, ſhould afterwards put it out of their power. An idea began to prevail, that a non-importation of tea was an adviſeable meaſure upon the preſent occaſion; accordingly, they advertiſed, that, after diſpoſing of their preſent ſtock, they would not import, or have any further dealings in tea, for two years. This at once tended to fill their pockets and exalt their characters as patriots. The people, ignorant of the largeneſs of ſuch ſtock, and apprehenſive of being deprived of an article they were paſſionately fond of, eagerly furniſhed themſelves with quantities ſufficient for that time, moſtly of about 30, 40, or 50 pounds, notwithſtanding the price was advanced 1s. per pound, upon the pretence of raiſing money to pay for the tea deſtroyed in order to ſecure the religion and liberty of America, which, under that idea,

idea, it was generally acknowledged ought to be done. When the tea was moſtly diſpoſed of, the people found that the extra price they had given for it was deſigned for the venders, inſtead of the Eaſt-India Company, whoſe tea at the bottom of the harbour was not to be paid for. They murmured; whereupon the ſmugglers voted, that they would not drink any more tea, but burn on the common what they had left. Some tea was ſo diſpoſed of, and the public-ſpirited tranſaction blazoned in the newſpapers. But this was not all: the ſmugglers ſent letters to the leaders of mobs in the country, enjoining them to wait upon the purchaſers of their tea, and compel them to burn it as a proof of their patriotiſm. Thoſe honourable inſtructions were obeyed, to the real grievance of the holders of the tea. "Let Mr. Hancock," ſaid they, "and "the other merchant ſmugglers, return "us our money, and then you ſhall be

" welcome to burn the tea, according to " their orders." But it ſignified nothing to diſpute the equity of the requiſition: the cry was " Join or die!" nor would the ſons of liberty be ſatisfied with any-thing leſs, than that each owner of tea ſhould with his own hands bring forth the ſame, and burn it; and then ſign a declaration, that he had acted in this affair voluntarily, and without any compulſion whatever; and, moreover, pay the printer for inſerting it in the newſpaper.

An act of parliament for ſhutting up the port of Boſton was the immediate conſequence of the deſtruction of the Eaſt-India Company's tea. It took place in June, 1774; and was conſidered by the Americans as deſigned to reduce the Boſtonians " to the moſt ſervile and mean " compliance ever attempted to be im- " poſed on a free people; and allowed to " be infinitely more alarming and dange- " rous to their common liberties, than even

" that

"that hydra the ſtamp-act." Due care had been taken to enſure its inforcement, by ſending General Gage as Governor to Boſton, where he arrived the preceding month, with a number of troops. Determined, however, as the Parliament ſeemed on compulſion, the coloniſts were equally bent on reſiſtance, and reſolved upon a continental congreſs to direct their operations. In the mean time, contributions for relieving the diſtreſſed people in Boſton were voted by the colonies; and Connecticut, through the officiouſneſs of its Governor, had the honour of ſetting an example by raiſing the firſt. Every town which did not ſubſcribe to the ſupport of the Boſtonians was ſtigmatized as a tory town. The firſt that refuſed was loyal Hebron. There it was voted, "That, when the people of Boſton ſhould have paid for the teas that were deſtroyed, and behave like honeſt men, the town would give them ſupport,

if their port was not opened by the King;" —a vote, which, for a time, put a ſtop to further collections in the province. The patriots imputed it to the influence of the Rev. Mr. Peters (of whom I have already ſpoken) and his family. Many were the attempts tried to ruin his character, but unſucceſsfully:—he was too well beloved and befriended in the town.

Falſhood and ſedition had now for ſome time been every day increaſing in the province; and men, who were ſecret propagators of traitorous opinions, pretended in public to look up to the Conſociation, the great focus of divine illumination, for direction. After much faſting and praying, that holy leaven diſcovered an admirable method of advancing the bleſſed work of proteſtant liberty. The doors of priſons were opened, and priſoners became leaders of mobs compoſed of negroes, vagabonds, and thieves, who had much to gain and nothing to loſe.

loſe. The beſom of deſtruction firſt cleared away the creditors of the renegadoes; and then the Sandemanians, preſbyterians, and epiſcopalians. The unfortunate complained to the governor and magiſtrates of the outrages of thoſe banditti, begging the protection of the laws. The following was the beſt anſwer returned by the magiſtrates: "The pro-
"ceedings of which you complain, are
"like the acts of parliament: but be this
"as it may, we are only ſervants of the
"people, in whom all power centers,
"and who have aſſumed their natural
"right to judge and act for themſelves."
The loyaliſts armed to defend their property againſt thoſe public thieves, but the liberty boys were inſtantly honoured with the preſence of miniſters, deacons, and juſtices, who cauſed the grand jury to indict, as tories and rioters, thoſe who preſumed to defend their houſes, and the courts fined and impriſoned them.

Thus

Thus horridly, by night and day, were the mobs driven on by the hopes of plunder, and the pleaſures of domineering over their ſuperiors.—Having ſent terror and lamentation through their own colony, the incarnate fiends paid a viſit to the epiſcopalians of Great Barrington, in the weſtern confines of Maſſachuſets-Bay, whoſe numbers exceeded that of the *Sober Diſſenters*. Their wrath chiefly fell upon the Rev. Mr. Boſtwick and David Ingerſol, Eſq. The former was laſhed with his back to a tree, and almoſt killed; but, on account of the fits of his wife and mother, and the ſcreamings of the women and children, the mob releaſed him upon his ſigning their league and covenant. As to Mr. Ingerſol, after demoliſhing his houſe and ſtealing his goods, they brought him almoſt naked into Connecticut upon a horſe's bare-ridge, in ſpite of the diſtreſſes of his mother and ſiſter, which were enough to melt the heart of a ſavage,

though

though producing in the *Sober Diſſenters* nothing but peals of laughter that rent the ſkies. Treatment ſo extremely barbarous did Mr. Ingerſol receive at their hands, that the Sheriff of Litchfield county could not withhold his interpoſition, by which means he was ſet at liberty after ſigning the league and covenant. The grand jury indicted ſome of the leaders in this riot; but the court diſmiſſed them, upon receiving information from Boſton, that Ingerſol had ſeceded from the houſe of repreſentatives, and declared for the King of England.—What cauſed this irruption of the mob into great Great Barrington follows:—The laws of Maſſachuſets-bay give each town a power to vote a tax for the ſupport of the miniſtry, ſchools, poor, &c. The money, when collected, is depoſited with the town-treaſurer, who is obliged to pay it according to the determination of the majority of voters. The *Sober Diſſenters,* for many years, had been

been the majority in Barrington, and had annually voted about 200*l.* ſterling for the miniſtry, above half of which was taken from churchmen and the Lutherans, whoſe miniſters could have no part of it, becauſe, ſeparately, the greateſt number of voters were *Sober Diſſenters*, who gave the whole to their miniſter. This was deemed liberty and goſpel in New-England; but mark the ſequel. The Lutherans, and ſome other ſects, having joined the church party, the church gained the majority. Next year, the town voted the money as uſual for the miniſtry, &c. but the majority voted that the treaſurer ſhould pay the ſhare appointed for the miniſtry to the church clergyman, which was accordingly done: whereupon the *Sober Diſſenters* cried out, Tyranny and perſecution! and applied to Governor Hutchinſon, then the idol and protector of the independents, for relief. His Excellency, ever willing to leave,

" Paul

"Paul bound," found a method of reverſing the vote of the majority of the freemen of Barrington in favour of the churchmen, calling it "a vote obtained by wrong and fraud." The Governor, by law or without law, appointed Major Hawley, of Northampton, to be the moderator of the town-meeting in Barrington. The Major accordingly attended; but, after exerting himſelf three days in behalf of his oppreſſed brethren, was obliged to declare that the epiſcopalians had a great majority of legal voters: he then went home, leaving matters as he found them. The *Sober Diſſenters* were always ſo poor in Barrington, that they could not have ſupported their minſter without taxing their neighbours; and when they loſt that power, their miniſter departed from them, "becauſe," as he ſaid, "the Lord "had called him to Rhode-Iſland." To overthrow the majority of the church, and to eſtabliſh the American Vine upon its

its old foundation, was the main intention of the *Sober Diſſenters* of Connecticut in viſiting Great Barrington at this time.

The warlike preparations throughout the colonies, and the intelligence obtained from certain credible refugees of a ſecret deſign formed in Connecticut and Maſſachuſets-bay to attack the royal army, induced General Gage to make ſome fortifications upon Boſton-Neck, for their ſecurity. Theſe of courſe gave offence; but much more the excurſion of a body of the troops on the 19th of April, 1775, to deſtroy a magazine of ſtores at Concord, and the ſkirmiſhes which enſued. In a letter of the 28th of April, from Mr. Trumbull, the Governor of Connecticut, to General Gage, after ſpeaking of the "very juſt and general alarm" given the "good people" of that province by his arrival at Boſton with troops, and ſubſequent fortifications, he tells the General,

that "the late hoſtile and ſecret inroads "of ſome of the troops under his com- "mand into the heart of the country, "and the violences they had committed, "had driven them almoſt into a ſtate of "deſperation." Certain it is, that the populace were then ſo maddened, by falſe repreſentations and aggravations of events unfortunate and lamentable enough in themſelves, as to be quite ripe for the open rebellion the Governor and Aſſembly were on the point of commencing, though they had the effrontery to remonſtrate againſt the defenſive proceedings of the General, in order to conceal their treachery. Further on, in the ſame letter, Mr. Trumbull writes thus: "The people of "this colony, you may rely upon it, ab- "hor the idea of taking arms againſt the "troops of their ſovereign, and dread no- "thing ſo much as the horrors of civil "war; but, at the ſame time, we beg "leave to aſſure your Excellency, that,

"as

" as they apprehend themſelves juſtified by
" the principle of ſelf-defence, ſo they
" are moſt firmly reſolved to defend their
" rights and privileges to the laſt ex-
" tremity; nor will they be reſtrained
" from giving aid to their brethren, if any
" unjuſtifiable attack is made upon them.
" ——Is there no way to prevent this
" unhappy diſpute from coming to ex-
" tremities? Is there no alternative
" but abſolute ſubmiſſion, or the deſola-
" tions of war? By that humanity which
" conſtitutes ſo amiable a part of your
" character; for the honour of our ſo-
" vereign, and by the glory of the Bri-
" tiſh empire, we intreat you to prevent
" it, if it be poſſible. Surely, it is to be
" hoped, that the temperate wiſdom of
" the empire might, even yet, find ex-
" pedients to reſtore peace, that ſo all
" parts of the empire may enjoy their par-
" ticular rights, honours, and immunities.
" Certainly, this is an event moſt devout-

" ly

" ly to be wiſhed for; and will it not be " conſiſtent with your duty to ſuſpend " the operations of war on your part, and " enable us on ours to quiet the minds of " the people, at leaſt, till the reſult of " ſome further deliberations may be " known?" &c. &c.

From this letter, written as it was by the Governor of a province, at the deſire of its General Aſſembly, the people of England may learn to think of American as they do of French ſincerity. It is almoſt paſt credit, that, amidſt the earneſt proteſtations it contains of a peaceable diſpoſition in Mr. Trumbull and the reſt of his coadjutors in the government of Connecticut, they were meditating, and actually taking meaſures for the capture of certain of the King's forts, and the deſtruction of General Gage and his whole army, inſtead of *quieting the minds of the people!* Yet ſuch was the fact. They had commiſſioned Motte and Phelps to

draught men from the militia, if volunteers ſhould not readily appear, for a ſecret expedition, which proved to be againſt Ticonderago and Crown-Point; and the treaſurer of the colony, by order of the Governor and Council, had paid 1500*l.* to bear their expences. Nay, even *before* the date of the above amicable epiſtle, Motte and Phelps had left Hertford on that treaſonable undertaking, in which they were joined on the way by Colonels Allen and Eaſton. Nor was this the only inſidious enterprize they had to cover. The "good people" throughout the province, to the number of near 20,000, were ſecretly arming themſelves, and filing off, to avoid ſuſpicion, in ſmall parties of ten or a dozen, to meet "their brethren," the Maſſachuſets; not, however, with the view of "giving aid," "ſhould any unjuſtifiable attack be made "upon them," but to SURPRIZE Boſton by ſtorm. In addition to the Governor's

vernor's letter, the mock-peace-makers the General Aſſembly had deputed Dr. Samuel Johnſon, ſon of the Rev. Dr. Johnſon, ſpoken of in this work, and Oliver Wolcot, Eſq. both of the Council, which had ordered the 1500*l.* for the adventurers to Ticonderago, to wait upon General Gage, the more effectually to amuſe and deceive him into confidence and inaction. But happily, at a critical time, juſt before the intended ſtorm and ſlaughter at Boſton, the news of the ſucceſs of the *ſecret expedition* reached that town, which fully diſcovered the true character and buſineſs of the two Connecticut ambaſſadors, and rendered it neceſſary for them, *ſans ceremonie*, to retire from Boſton, and for General Gage, immediately, to render the fortifications at the Neck impregnable.

Thus did Connecticut, from its hotbed of fanaticiſm and ſedition, produce the firſt indubitable overt-act of high-trea-

ſon in the preſent rebellion, by actually levying war, and taking, *vi et armis*, the King's forts and ſtores; and, moſt probably, its obſtinacy will render this the laſt of all the revolted ſtates to acknowledge the ſupremacy of Parliament.

The *Sober Diſſenters*, chagrined at being diſappointed in their hoſtile project againſt Boſton, readily embraced the opportunities which offered of wreaking their vengeance upon New-York. At the inſtance of the rebel party there, who found themſelves too weak to effect their purpoſe of ſubverting the conſtitution of the province, a large body immediately poſted to their aſſiſtance, delivered "their brethren" from the ſlavery of regal government, and inveſted them with the liberty of doing that which was fit in their own eyes, under the democratic adminiſtration of the immaculate Livingſton's, Morris, Schyler, &c. &c. As ſeemed neceſſary to the furtherance of their pacific views, frequent

frequent irruptions were made afterwards, in which many loyaliſts were diſarmed and plundered, and ſome of them taken priſoners. Among theſe laſt were the Rev. Dr. Seabury and the Mayor of New-York. Governor Tryon happily eſcaped their fury; as alſo did, very narrowly, the Rev. Miles Cooper, LL. D. who was leaving his houſe through a back window, when a party of ruffians burſt into his chamber, and thruſt their bayonets into the bed he had juſt quitted. Mr. Rivington, whoſe caſe has been publiſhed, was one of the ſufferers by loſs of property. Thoſe "good people," who "dreaded nothing ſo much as the horrors of civil war," with the reverſe of reluctance plundered his houſe of all his printing materials and furniture; and, having ſcrambled for the latter, carried the types to Newhaven, where they have ſince been employed in the ſervice of Congreſs. The King's ſtatue, however, maintained its ground

till after Mr. Waſhington with the continental army had taken poſſeſſion of the city; when it was indicted of high treaſon againſt the dominions of America, found guilty, and received a quaint ſentence of this kind, viz. That it ſhould undergo the act of decollation; and, inaſmuch as it had no *bowels*, its *legs ſhould be broken*; that the lead of it ſhould be run into bullets, for the deſtruction of the Engliſh bloody-backs, and the refuſe be caſt into the ſea. The ſentence was immediately carried into execution, amidſt ſuch huzza's and vociferations of *Praiſe ye the Lord!* that it brought to mind the ſongs at the annual feaſt of the calves-head club on the 30th of January, in deriſion of the royal martyr. This inſult upon Majeſty Mr. Waſhington thought proper thus to notice in his general orders of the next day. He was ſorry, he ſaid, that his ſoldiers ſhould in a riotous manner pull down the ſtatue of the King of Great-Britain;

Britain; yet he could not but commend their zeal for defacing every monument of Britiſh tyranny.

It has been a matter of ſurprize to ſome politicians, that the people of Connecticut, who had no real grievance to complain of, ſhould take ſo early and decided a part againſt the ſovereignty of Britain, and exert themſelves ſo exemplary in favour of the Boſtonian tea-merchants, eſpecially when, if the Eaſt-India Company had been permitted to import that commodity, they would have been ſupplied with it at half the price it uſually coſt them: but the wonder will inſtantly vaniſh, if it be conſidered, that this province was the ſeat of the annual convention of delegates from all the aſſociations of proteſtant diſſenters throughout America, which was firſt holden in 1764, as I have related. Here, their meetings were continued, year after year, without the leaſt apprehenſion of diſturbance from a

King's Governor; and here the arcana of the American vine, together with the ſolemn league and covenant, were depoſited. It is not to be ſuppoſed but that the political principles of this ſynod would gradually become the principles of the *Sober Diſſenters* in general; and the proceedings of the latter, when action was required, afford a clear proof both of the nature of thoſe principles, and the enthuſiaſm with which they had been adopted. —Perhaps, no people in the world have been ſo much deceived as the commonalty of the Engliſh colonies in America. They were conſcious of their happineſs under the protection of Great-Britain, and wiſhed for no change in government. Ten years ago the great majority would ſooner have run their heads againſt the burning mountains, than have lifted up a finger with a view to a political ſeparation from Great-Britain; and yet they have been prevailed upon, by the inflammatory effuſions

fuſions of the clergy, merchants, and lawyers, to commit a thouſand mad exceſſes, run into open rebellion, and imbrue their hands in civil blood, under the idea of oppoſing injury, oppreſſion, and ſlavery, though in reality only to forward what has long been the grand aim of their inſtigators—INDEPENDENCE.

Having been a witneſs of the effects of the conventions of Diſſenters in New-England, particularly that I have juſt been ſpeaking of as taking place at New-haven in 1764, which was annually continued, without the leaſt animadverſion from any perſon in authority in Great-Britain, notwithſtanding the intent of it was wholly prejudicial to her intereſts; I was the more mortified with the implied cenſure of a great man in very high office upon a meeting of the epiſcopal clergy, in his anſwer to an addreſs they took the liberty to preſent to him, in the vain hope of its being productive of ſome benefit to the church

church in America, but, alas! whoſe only fruit was a laconic letter to the following purport:—"I have been honoured with your addreſs, and thank you for it; but am not acquainted by what authority you hold your convention."—The *hauteur* in this anſwer to ſuch an aſſembly on ſuch an occaſion, however congruous with the pride and formality of office, was utterly repugnant to the dictates of policy. Britain loſt by it half her friends in New-England; and I will preſume to ſay, that Britain will loſe all her friends in that country, whenever it ſhall be diſcovered that the ſentiments of the Engliſh Parliament coincide, in that reſpect, with the ſentiments of the writer.

Whilſt Mr. Waſhington remained in poſſeſſion of New-York, Connecticut ſerved as a priſon for thoſe perſons who had the misfortune to fall under his ſuſpicion as diſaffected to the cauſe of freedom. He was himſelf, however, at length obliged

obliged to evacuate it, by General How, to the great relief of ſuch loyaliſts as remained.

In April 1777, ſome magazines having been formed by the Americans at Danbury and Ridgefield, Major-General Tryon was ſent with 1800 men to carry off or deſtroy them. They reached the places of their deſtination with little oppoſition; but the whole force of the country being collected to obſtruct his return, the General was obliged to ſet the ſtores on fire, by which means thoſe towns were unavoidably burnt. David Wooſter, the rebel General, Benedict Arnold's old acquaintance and mobbing confederate, received a fatal ball through his bladder, as he was harraſſing the rear of the royal troops; of which, after being carried 40 miles to Newhaven, he died, and was there buried by the ſide of the grave of David Dixwell, one of the Judges of Charles the Martyr.

In

In the ſummer of 1779, the ſufferings of the loyaliſts in Connecticut becoming too intolerable for longer endurance, General Sir Henry Clinton determined to attempt their relief. Accordingly, he detached a large party, under the command of General Tryon, which landed at Newhaven, after being oppoſed by a number of rebels under the command of the Rev. Naphthali Dagget, the preſident of Yale College, who, notwithſtanding the moderation which I have ſaid marked his general character, was enthuſiaſtic enough to hazard his life on this occaſion. He loſt it, and had the honour of being buried on Sodom Hill, near the grave of Deacon Potter, without a coffin. Having accompliſhed their purpoſe here, the troops ſailed to Fairfield, which town they were neceſſitated, by the oppoſition of the rebels, to ſet fire to, before the loyaliſts could be releaſed from priſon. General Tryon then repaired to Norwalk, where having

having by proclamation enjoined the inhabitants to keep within their houſes, he ordered centinels to be ſtationed at every door, to prevent diſorders; a tenderneſs, however, they inſulted, by firing upon the very men who were thus appointed to guard them. The conſequence was, deſtruction to themſelves and the whole town, which was laid in aſhes.

I have now mentioned the principal proceedings by which the people of Connecticut have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in bringing on and ſupporting the rebellion of America; and that, I apprehend, in a manner ſufficiently particular to ſhew their violence, and to anſwer my purpoſe of giving the reader an idea of the preſent diſtracted, maimed ſtate of the province, which many moſt reſpectable characters have been obliged to abandon, at the total loſs of their property, to ſave their lives. It is very obſervable, that a peculiar, characteriſtic reſolution appears

pears to poſſeſs the people of Connecticut. As, on one hand, rebellion has erected her creſt in that province with more inſolence and vigour than in the reſt; ſo, on the other, loyalty has there exhibited proofs of zeal, attachment, perſeverance and fortitude, far beyond example elſewhere to be found in America. In particular, the epiſcopal clergy have acquired immortal honour by their ſteady adherence to their oaths, and firmneſs under the "aſſaults of their enemies;" not a man amongſt them all, in this fiery trial, having diſhonoured either the King or church of England by apoſtacy. The ſufferings of ſome of them I cannot wholly paſs over in ſilence.

Among the greateſt enemies to the cauſe of the *Sober Diſſenters*, and among the greateſt friends to that of the church of England, the Rev. Mr. Peters ſtood conſpicuous. I have already repreſented him as ſo well ſhielded by the friendſhip and eſteem

eſteem of the inhabitants of Hebron, where he reſided, as to be proof againſt the common weapons of fanaticiſm and malice. The Governor and Council, therefore, entered the liſts, and, anxious at all events to get rid of ſo formidable a foe, accuſed him of being a ſpy of Lord North's and the Biſhops. This allegation was publiſhed by the Governor's order, in every republican pulpit in the colony, on Sunday Auguſt 14, 1774, which induced a mob of Patriots from Windham county to arm and ſurround his houſe the ſame night, in the moſt tumultuous manner ordering the gates and doors to be opened. Mr. Peters, from his window, aſked if they had a warrant from a magiſtrate to enter his houſe. They replied, "We "have Joice's warrant, which Charles "the traitor ſubmitted to, and is ſufficient "for you." Peters told them he had but one life to loſe, and he would loſe it in defence of his houſe and property. Finally,

nally, after ſome further altercation, it was agreed that a committee from the mob ſhould ſearch the houſe, and read all papers belonging to Mr. Peters. A committee was accordingly nominated, who, after inſpecting his papers as much as they pleaſed, reported, "that they were ſatisfied Mr. Peters was not guilty of any crime laid to his charge."

On Sunday the 4th of September, the country was alarmed by a letter from Colonel Putnam, declaring "that Admiral Graves had burnt Boſton, and that General Gage was murdering old and young." The Governor of Connecticut took the liberty to add to Mr. Putnam's letter, "except churchmen and the addreſſers of Governor Hutchinſon." The ſame day 40,000 men began their march from Connecticut to Boſton, and returned the next, having heard that there was no truth in Putnam's reports. Dr. Bellamy, thanked God for this falſe alarm, as he had thereby

by pointed out "the inhabitants of Meroz, "who went not to the help of the Lord "againſt the mighty." No churchmen, preſbyterians, or Sandemanians, were among the 40,000 inſurgents; and that was judged to be ſufficient proof of their diſaffection to the liberties of America. The Governor ſeized this opportunity to ſet the mobs again, with redoubled fury, upon the Rev. Mr. Peters, and the loyaliſts, whom they then called Peterites; and the intoxicated ruffians ſpared neither their houſes, goods, nor perſons. Some had their bowels crouded out of their bodies; others were covered with filth, and marked with the ſign of the croſs by a mop filled with excrements, in token of their loyalty to a king who deſigned to crucify all the good people of America. Even women were hung by the heels, tarred, and feathered. Mr. Peters, with his gown and cloaths torn off, was treated in the moſt inſulting manner: his mother,

daughter, two brothers, and ſervants, were wounded; one of his brothers ſo badly, that he died ſoon after. Mr. Peters was then obliged to abſcond and fly to the royal army in Boſton, from whence he went to England, by which means he has hitherto preſerved his life, though not his property, from the rapacious and bloody hands of his countrymen.—The Rev. Meſſieurs Mansfield and Viets were caſt into jail, and afterwards tried for high treaſon againſt America. Their real offence was charitably giving victuals and blankets to loyaliſts flying from the rage of drunken mobs. They were not indeed convicted in ſo high a degree as the court intended; but were fined and impriſoned, to the ruin of themſelves and families.—The Rev. Meſſieurs Graves, Scovil, Dibblee, Nichols, Leaming, Beach, and divers others, were cruelly dragged through mire and dirt. In ſhort, all the clergy of the church were infamouſly

inſulted,

inſulted, abuſed, and obliged to ſeek refuge in the mountains, till the popular phrenzy was ſomewhat abated.

In July, 1776, the congreſs having declared the independency of America, and ordered the commonwealth to be prayed for inſtead of the King and royal family, all the loyal epiſcopal churches north of the Delaware were ſhut up, except thoſe immediately under the protection of the Britiſh army, and one at Newtown, in Connecticut, of which laſt the Rev. Mr. John Beach was the rector, whoſe grey hairs, adorned with loyal and chriſtian virtues, overcame even the madneſs of the *Sober Diſſenters*. This faithful diſciple diſregarded the congreſſional mandate, and praying for the King as uſual, they pulled him out of his deſk, put a rope about his neck, and drew him acroſs Oſootonoc river, at the tail of a boat, *to cool his loyal zeal*, as they called it; after which, the old *Confeſſor* was per-

mitted to depart, though not without a prohibition to pray longer for the King. But his *loyal zeal* was inſuperable. He went to church, and prayed again for the King; upon which the *Sober Diſſenters* again ſeized him, and reſolved upon cutting out his tongue; when the heroic veteran ſaid, "If my blood muſt be ſhed, "let it not be done in the houſe of God." The pious mob then dragged him out of the church, laid his neck on a block, and ſwore they would cut off his head; and inſolently crying out, "Now, you "old Devil! ſay your laſt prayer," he prayed thus, "*God bleſs King George, and forgive all his and my enemies!*" At this unexpected and exalted diſplay of chriſtian patience and charity, the mob ſo far relented as to diſcharge and never moleſt him afterwards for adhering to the liturgy of the church of England and his ordination oath; but they relaxed not in their ſeverities towards the other clergymen, becauſe,

becauſe, they ſaid, younger conſciences are more flexible.

I cannot conclude this work without remarking, what a contraſt to the epiſcopal clergy of Connecticut, and eſpecially to this illuſtrious example of the venerable Beach, is afforded by too many of thoſe in the provinces ſouth of Delaware. Here, whilſt they ſuffered every thing but death for tenaciouſly adhering to their ordination oaths; there, ſome of them, of more enlarged conſciences, were not aſhamed to commit perjury in prayer, and rebellion in preaching,—though, be it remembered, their expreſſions were decent, when compared with thoſe of the fanatics in New-England. The following prayer, uſed by them before Congreſs, after the declaration of independence, ſeems to me too likely to gratify the curioſity of my readers to be omitted. It brought the clergymen into diſgrace merely by its moderation.

 "O LORD,

" O LORD, our heavenly father, King
" of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who doſt
" from thy throne behold all the dwellers
" upon earth, and reigneſt, with power
" ſupreme and uncontrouled, over all
" kingdoms, empires, and governments;
" look down in mercy, we beſeech thee,
" upon theſe our American ſtates, who
" have fled to thee *from the rod of the*
" *oppreſſor*, and thrown themſelves upon
" thy gracious protection, deſiring *hence-*
" *forth to be dependent only upon thee.*
" To thee have they appealed for *the*
" *righteouſneſs of their cauſe*; to thee do
" they now look up for that countenance
" and ſupport, which thou alone canſt
" give. Take them, therefore, heavenly
" Father, under thy nurturing care; give
" them wiſdom in council, valour in the
" field. Defeat the *malicious deſigns of*
" *our cruel adverſaries*; convince them
" of the *unrighteouſneſs* of their cauſe;
" and, if they ſtill perſiſt in their *ſan-*
" *guinary*

" *guinary purpoſes*, O let the voice of thy
" unerring juſtice, ſounding in their hearts,
" conſtrain them to drop the weapons of
" war from their enerved hands in the
" day of battle. Be thou preſent, O
" God of wiſdom, and direct the coun-
" cils of this *honourable aſſembly*. Enable
" them to ſettle things upon the beſt and
" ſureſt foundation; that the ſcenes of
" blood may be ſpeedily cloſed; that or-
" der, harmony, and peace, may effect-
" ually be reſtored, and truth and juſtice,
" religion and piety, prevail and flouriſh
" amongſt *thy people*. Preſerve the health
" of their bodies, and the vigour of their
" minds; ſhower down upon them, and
" *the millions they repreſent*, ſuch tem-
" poral bleſſings as thou ſeeſt expedient
" for them in this world, and crown them
" with everlaſting glory in the world to
" come. All this we aſk, in the name
" and through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt,
" thy Son, our Saviour. *Amen*."

I will not deny that rebels are to be found among the epiſcopal clergy north of the Delaware; but they amount to five only, and not one of them belongs to the colony of Connecticut.

P. S. The Rev. Mr. Nathaniel Hooker, mentioned in p. 167, as reſiding at Hertford, is now dead.

FINIS.

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FINIS.